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REMARKS

ON THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

From the MINUTES of

HUMPHRY OLDCASTLE, *Esq;*

DUBLIN:

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M, DCC, XLIII.

TO

A Certain LORD.

My LORD,

OF the whole Legion once in your Pay, perhaps not one Writer continues in your Service; as they followed you for the Loaves and Fiſhes only, their Zeal failed with their Appointments, and they found it neceſſary to take up ſome other Trade.

BUT though, like them, my Lord, I attended your Meridian, I ſhall not, like them, forſake you at your Decline; on the contrary, I am ſtill as much at your Devotion as ever, and it is notorious you have now, as much to beſtow as I expected then.

AS, therefore, I make my Approaches, with the ſame Sincerity, I depend on the ſame Reception; more eſpecially, when I farther aſſure you, that,

if I happen to be the longeſt Liver, I will be as juſt to your Memory, as I have been to your Adminiſtration.

WERE I in the ſame Way of Thinking with that *Roman* Tyrant, who wiſhed his Reign might be diſtinguiſhed to Poſterity by ſome Plague, Famine, Earthquake, or other dreadful Viſitation, I ſhould take a Pride in boaſting that * * * * * the Great, was my Cotemporary. But my Ambition is checked by my Humanity, and, as I am, I can only glory that, as long as the *Britiſh* Annals ſhall be read, our Names, like the Poiſon and the Antidote, will be coupled together.

YOUR Lordſhip will, I hope, excuſe this little Sacrifice to Vanity. Every Man is fond of an Opportunity to throw an advantageous Light upon himſelf; and though I profeſſedly ſpread the Canvaſs for your Portrait, I could not help edging in a ſlight Sketch of my own.

I ſhall not, however, forget that your Lordſhip is to be the principal Figure, nor that I ought to be content with an obſcure Corner of the Piece, like your Equerry, holding your Stirrup, or preſenting that Head-Piece, which none but you would preſume to put on; or rather as your Squire, aſſiſting to *diſarm* you; or helping you out of your Saddle, &c.

MY

MY Lord, Dedications to great Men, like the Pictures of fine Women, muſt preſent nothing but Charms and Graces; Do not bluſh therefore: ——But why do I caution you againſt a Weakneſs, you are in no Danger of falling into? Should I out-do *Pliny* in Panegyric, ſhould I out-do an Addreſs in Complaiſance, you have received an Hundred other Dedications, which have done the ſame; and as you ever paid for all they contained, all was but your Due.

BUT it is not my Deſign to tread the beaten Track, and compare you either to *Fabius* or *Cicero*. To inſinuate you ever had a Type or Parallel, is to injure you. No, you are Yourſelf; an Original; a *Nonſuch*; nor is it likely Poſterity ſhould ever produce ſuch another. It is enough for me to give you your own; I aſpire to no more; and That I dare not attempt but by Figure only.

THE Serpent, we are told, was, by Creation, the ſubtleſt Beaſt of the Field, and therefore became a proper Tool for the Devil. Where any Thing was to be got, he could find a Way to wriggle himſelf in; when any Misfortune threatened him, he could find a Way to wriggle himſelf out. Once a Year he threw off his Slough, and appeared to be a new Creature. Golden Pippins were his favourite Fruit, or rather the *Sodom-Apple*, fair

without, but rotten at the Core. Life he promiſed, Death he deviſed, and Corruption he entailed from Generation to Generation. Out of Paradiſe, it is true, he was driven; but though his Head was threatened, we do not find that the Sentence hath as yet taken Place; on the contrary, he no longer grovels on his Belly, or licks the Duſt, but hath put forth Wings, claims a Place among the Powers of the Air, and exactly reſembles the Dragon in the Revelations.

THE old Jingle of *Honores mutant Mores* you have the Glory, my Lord, to be an illuſtrious Exception to; however enlarged with Stile and Title, you continue to be within the very ſame; and thereby ſhew the eminent Inſignificancy of ſuch Vanities.

THAT you condeſcended to accept of them, will ever to ſome be Matter of Wonder; that you condeſcended to ſolicit them, will never perhaps be believed. Why ſhould a Man, who deſpiſed the Eſſence, be fond of the Name? And that you always had the Magnanimity to be above Opinion, is manifeſt by every Action of your Life.

BUT what Labyrinth is there ſo intricate, that if you follow the Thread, may not be explored? A Peerage was only the Means, a Quietus was the End: You had performed your Voyage, your Bark

was

was crazy; the Storm was up, and the firſt Port welcome. While the Helm was worth holding, you held it; when only an Encumbrance, you reſigned it; equally pleaſed with your own Eſcape, that your Enemies ſucceeded to the Danger, and that your own *Crew* continued to navigate the Veſſel as before.

THUS far, my Lord, I have done as, on this Occaſion, I ought; touched both on your peerleſs Qualities, and peerleſs Succeſs, with the delicate Hand of a Dedicator; without the leaſt Reflection, whether the Portico, and the Building are of a Piece; and when I was on the Point of concluding, the following remarkable Paſſage ſtared me in the Face.

* *The* Laws *muſt be deſtroyed, before* they *can ſuffer, or* you *eſcape.*

A tremendous Prophecy, my Lord, and what you can never be out of the Reach of, till you are in your Grave!

THAT no Man ought to be eſteemed happy till he is dead, is the Saying of *Solon.* Whether or not, therefore, the Stream of your good Fortune is to flow on without Interruption, whether you are to be cut or drop from the Tree, I am afraid to pro-

* Letter XII. Page 112.

pronounce.———On the Stage, indeed, when a Maſter-Poet exerts his Power over the Paſſions, his Victim at the End of the fourth Act is frequently made to ſing a Requiem to his Cares and Sorrows, as if for ever done away. ——— But alas! his Cataſtrophe is then at Hand, and Fate ready to drop the Curtain.

THUS much ſhall ſerve for what I had to addreſs perſonally to your Lordſhip; and as to the Work, which, though not dignified with your Name, is now to be made Partaker of your Immortality; what I have to add on that Head, will, perhaps, make its Appearance with more Propriety in a Preface to the courteous Reader.

LEST, however, your Lordſhip ſhould hold me without Excuſe, for thus ſolemnly devoting it to you, know that I have done it for the ſame Reaſon, that Pilots deſire to plant Buoys upon the *Goodwin*.

I am, as ever,

My LORD,

Your devoted,

humble Servant,

CALEB D'ANVERS.

PREFACE.

LOOSE Papers reſemble the *Sybil*'s Leaves; however oraculous their Contents, Time, almoſt with a ſingle Breath, ſunders them for ever; a Fate which, perhaps moſt modern Productions deſerve, but what few Authors can bear!

THE Letters that follow were, however, neither made publick at firſt, nor collected now, as a Trap for Reputation; if they had, no Doubt, the Writer would have put in his Claim, as ſoon as the Voice of the Nation had declared in his Favour. It is rather to be ſuppoſed they were occaſioned by a more extenſive and leſs pleaſing View, ariſing from a Survey of the dangerous Deſigns of thoſe above, and the calamitous Situation of thoſe below.

HAD they had their full Effect; had they taught one Side, that they could no otherwiſe diſarm Oppoſition, than by approving themſelves in Deed the Friends and Servants of the Publick; or the other, that their Strength conſiſted in their Unanimity, and their Importance in their Integrity; perhaps the Author might have exclaimed with old SIMEON, *Lord, now let thy Servant depart*

in Peace — for mine Eyes have ſeen thy Salvation; and put a Period to his Labours.

BUT as neither of theſe neceſſary Ends ſeems as yet to have been fully obtained; as the Veſſel of our Iniquities is not yet full; as Power is ſtill warped to the Prejudice of thoſe it was ordained to ſerve, and Oppoſition is like to continue as violent as ever; what was firſt fired, occaſionally, as a Beacon to give the Alarm, muſt now be kept continually alight, that the Danger may be always viſible, and that no Direction may be wanting to thoſe, who would throw themſelves into the Breach, with a firm Reſolution to die, or to ſubdue it.

IF ever a Teſt for the Tryal of Spirits can be neceſſary, it is now; if ever thoſe of Liberty and Faction ought to be diſtinguiſhed from each other, it is now; if ever it is incumbent on the People to know what Truth is, and to follow it, it is now.

HITHERTO, perhaps, Liberty, like Oil, hath only covered the Surface, while the Vinegar of Faction hath corroded the Conſtitution underneath, though Good hath reſulted from both; for even Faction muſt be at firſt popular; and Popularity cannot be acquired without the Evidence of ſome good Deeds, which, like *Abraham*'s Faith, may hold the Place of Righteouſneſs.

THERE is a Time when Factions, by the Vehemence of their own Fermentation, ſtun and diſable one another; and this is the Time, when plain Senſe, and downright Honeſty, have the only Chance

Chance to get uppermoſt, and introduce Reformation.

PERHAPS that Time is now; Perhaps Party-Leaders of all Kinds are equally in Diſgrace; and the Publick may be grown wiſe enough to judge of the Tree by its Fruits.

THE Republication of theſe *Papers* is therefore, at this Time, moſt eſpecially, ſeaſonable. If we do not take Advantage of the ſtanding Water of Faction, the Tide will ſoon turn one Way or the other, and carry all before it; and This can be effected no Way ſo happily, as by ſiding with ſuch, while ſuch are to be found, who appear to have been really inſpired with the genuine Spirit of Liberty; who have purged themſelves from the very Suſpicion of ſiniſter Views, by refuſing, at any Price, to forego the noble Cauſe they had eſpouſed, or give a Sanction to the Ruin of their Country.

LET but one great, brave, diſintereſted, active Man ariſe, and he will be received, followed, and almoſt adored, as the Guardian-Genius of theſe Kingdoms. Without a Foundation of ſolid Virtue, and publick Spirit, the nobleſt Accompliſhments loſe their Importance; with it, Common-Senſe grows venerable, and the Dove triumphs over the Serpent.

IF, then, there is any one Man of ſufficient Eminence among us, who, upon a thorough Self-Examination, feels himſelf to be within this Deſcription, let him ſtand forth; and, by a ſolemn, open, and explicit Renunciation of all Power, Places,

Places, Penſions, and every other Species of Court-Merchandize, lay the Ground-Work for obtaining the Confidence of the People; and, as far as Honour and Infamy can bind, give Security for the religious Obſervance of his Engagement.

BUT if Modeſty ſhould hinder what publick Neceſſity makes a Duty, let this one Man endeavour to inſpire a few more with the ſame generous Sentiments, and let them divide both the Service and the Glory.

GLORY, which, however decried and diſcountenanced of late, is the only Thing worth the Ambition of the Great, and what the Voice of the People only can beſtow!

LETTER I.

SIR,

SINCE the buſy Scene of the Year is over at home, and we may perhaps wait ſeveral Months before the ſucceſsful Negotiations of *France* furniſh us with new Hopes of a general Pacification, and give you Occaſion to carry your Speculations forward, it may be proper enough for you to caſt your Eyes backwards; to reflect on your own Conduct; and to call yourſelf to Account before your own Tribunal.

I am ſo much perſuaded of the Integrity of your Intentions, that I do not in the leaſt ſuſpect you will think my Advice impertinent; and therefore I ſhall attempt to lead your Thoughts on this Subject, by giving you an Account of ſome Parts of a Converſation, at which I happen'd to be preſent very lately.

Several of your Papers and ſeveral of Thoſe, which have been written againſt you, lay before a Company, which often meets, rather to live than to drink together; according to that Diſtinction, which *Tully* makes to the Advantage of his own Nation over the *Greeks*. They diſpute without Strife, and examine as diſpaſſionately the Events and the Characters of the preſent Age, as they reaſon about Thoſe, which are found in Hiſtory. When I came in, a *Gentleman* was ſaying, that

your Victories had been cheaply bought; and that he had not ſeen one Champion, able to break a Launce, enter the Liſts againſt you; upon which ſome were ready to obſerve the Inconſiſtencies of human Nature, and how hard it often proves to hire Men to avow and defend even That, which they are hired to act. Others were willing to hope that *Corruption* had not ſpread very wide, nor taken Root very deep amongſt us. All agreed, that if your Papers could be ſuſpected to be written in Oppoſition to the *preſent Miniſters*, the feeble and low Oppoſition you have met with would deſerve to be look'd upon as a very melancholy Symptom for them; ſince it would denote that their Cauſe was deem'd univerſally bad; or that their Perſons were grown univerſally odious among Men of Senſe, Ingenuity and Knowledge. It would denote their *Guilt*, or their *Misfortune*; perhaps *both*.

Here *one of the Company* interpoſed, by obſerving very prudently, 'That any Thing ſo void of 'Probability, as not to fall even under Suſpicion, 'was unworthy of farther Conſideration. But, 'ſaid he, whatever particular Views Mr. *D'Anvers* may have had, one general Effect, which I 'cannot approve, has followed from his *Writings*. 'We muſt remember that when he began to 'publiſh his weekly Lucubrations, univerſal Quiet 'prevail'd, if not univerſal Satisfaction; for in 'what Place, or at what Time was the laſt ever 'found? Few People enquired; fewer grumbled; 'none clamour'd; all acquieſced. Now the Humour of the Nation is alter'd. Every Man in'quires with Eagerneſs and examines with Free'dom. All Orders of Men are more intent than

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'I ever obſerved them to be on the Courſe of 'publick Affairs; and deliver their Judgments 'with leſs Reſerve upon the moſt important. 'From this Alteration, for which the *Craftſman* 'is chiefly anſwerable, no good Conſequence can, 'I think, proceed; and it is viſible that ſeveral 'Inconveniencies may.

To This many of us could by no Means aſſent. We apprehended that in a Country, circumſtanced like ours, and under a Government conſtituted like ours, the People had a Right to be inform'd, and to reaſon about publick Affairs; that when wiſe and honeſt Meaſures are purſued, and the Nation reaps the Advantage of them, the Exerciſe of this Right will be agreeable to the Men in Power; that, indeed, if weak and wicked Meaſures are purſued, the Men in Power might find the Exerciſe of this Right diſagreeable, inconvenient, and ſometimes dangerous to them; but that, even in this Caſe, there would be no Pretence for attempting to deprive the People of this Right, or for diſcouraging the Exerciſe of it; and that to forbid Men to complain, when they ſuffer, would be an Inſtance of Tyranny but one Degree below That, which the *Triumvirs* gave, during the Slaughter and Terror of the *Proſcriptions*; when by Edict they commanded all Men *to be merry upon Pain of Death*,

The *Perſon*, from whom we differ'd, brought us back to the particular Caſe of your Writings, Mr. *D'Anvers*. He endeavour'd to ſuppport what he had ſaid againſt them in this Manner:

'There was no good Reaſon for raiſing this '*Spirit*, which I diſlike, in the Nation, when 'the *Craftſman* began to write, or there was ſuch

‘ a Reaſon. If there was none, why has he given
‘ ſo much Alarm? If there was one, how has
‘ it come to paſs that ſo great an Alarm has pro-
‘ duced ſo little Effect? Will you ſay, that he had
‘ very good Reaſon to rouze this *Spirit*, but that
‘ it has hitherto had no Opportunity of exerting
‘ itſelf? Or will you ſay, that his Reaſons were
‘ good, and the Opportunity fair, but that the
‘ Minds of Men, which have been convinced by
‘ the former, have not yet been determined to
‘ improve the latter? I obſerve on all theſe Al-
‘ ternatives, that if there was no good, and even
‘ preſſing Reaſon to raiſe ſuch a *Spirit* in the Na-
‘ tion as I diſlike, (becauſe I expect no national
‘ Benefit, and I fear much Inconveniency from
‘ it) Mr. *D'Anvers* has acted a very wicked Part,
‘ and is little better than a *Sower of Sedition.* —
‘ If there was ſuch a Reaſon, but no ſuch Oppor-
‘ tunity, he has acted a very weak Part, and is
‘ but a *ſhallow Politician.* — If there was ſuch a
‘ Reaſon and ſuch an Opportunity, but no Diſ-
‘ poſition in the Minds of Men to follow their
‘ Conviction, you may excuſe your favourite
‘ Author, perhaps, by alledging that the Minds
‘ of Men are in the Power of God alone;
‘ but you will repreſent our national Condi-
‘ tion to be more deſperate than I ever
‘ thought it, or am yet willing to believe it. —
‘ Upon this Suppoſition I affirm, that Mr. *D'An-*
‘ *vers* is not to be excuſed, if he continues to
‘ write; for if he cannot raiſe this Diſpoſition by
‘ Perſuaſion, what does he aim at farther? I hope
‘ that he and you, who defend him, admire as
‘ much as I profeſs to do that divine Saying of
‘ PLATO, *We may endeavour to perſuade our Fel-*
‘ *low*

low-Citizens; but it is not lawful to force them even to That, which is beſt for them.'

Whilſt all This paſs'd, I took Notice that an *ntient venerable Gentleman* ſhew'd more Emotion, nd greaterImpatience, than I remember'd to have een him ever expreſs before. As ſoon as the *ther* had concluded, he broke Silence in the folowing Manner:

' You have endeavour'd to prove, Sir, that the *Craftſman* ſhould not have begun to write; or ' at leaſt he is inexcuſable for continuing. Now ' I not only differ from you, but I differ from you ' upon the very Foundation, on which you have ' eſtabliſh'd that whole Argument.

' The Face of Things was, I agree, as calm as ' you repreſent it to have been, when my honeſt ' Contemporary *Caleb* took up his Pen. They ' were *halcyon* Days truly. We were not only ' *quiet*, but we ſeem'd *implicit*, and dull Uniformity of *eternal Aſſent* prevail'd in every Place. ' I agree that, ſince that Time, Things are very ' much alter'd. A *Ferment*, or *Spirit*, call it ' which you pleaſe, is raiſed; but, I bleſs God, ' it is not the blind and furious *Spirit of Party*. ' It is a *Spirit*, which ſprings from Information ' and Conviction, that has diffuſed itſelf not only ' to all Orders of Men, as you obſerved, but to ' Men of all Denominations. Even They, who ' act againſt it, encourage it. You cannot call it *Toriſm*, when ſuch Numbers of *independent Whigs* ' avow it. To call it *Whigiſm* would be improper likewiſe, when ſo many *Tories* concur in it. ' He, who ſhould call it *Jacobitiſm*, would be too ' abſurd to deſerve an Anſwer. What is it then? ' It is, I think, a Revival of the true old *Engliſh*

'*Spirit*, which prevail'd in the Days of our Fa-
'thers, and which muſt always be national, ſince
'it has no Direction but to the national Intereſt;
'*Eſt jam una Vox omnium*; and I hope we ſhall
'never have Occaſion to add, *Magis Odio firmata*
'*quam Præſidio.*

'*This Spirit* the *Craftſman* has contributed to
'raiſe; and I affirm, in my Turn, that ſuppoſing
'him to have no other Reaſon for raiſing and
'ſupporting it, than a general Obſervation of the
'contrary Temper, into which the Nation had
'fallen, He deſerves the Acknowledgments of
'every honeſt Man in *Britain*, for the Part he
'has acted. The Diſpute between us is thus re-
'duced to one ſingle Propoſition; and if I prove
'This, all your Reaſoning, Sir, falls of Courſe
'to the Ground.

The *other* aſſented; the State of the Diſpute was fix'd; and the *old Gentleman* proceeded in his Argument to this Effect:

'Give me leave to borrow, upon this Occaſion,
'an Image, which my Lord *Bacon* employs, in
'one of his Eſſays, upon another. A People,
'who will maintain their *Liberties*, muſt pray for
'for the Bleſſing of *Judah*, to avoid the Fate of
'*Iſſachar*; the greateſt Curſe, which can befal
'them. Far from jogging on ſilently and tame-
'ly, (like the *Aſs* between two Burthens) ſuch a
'People muſt preſerve ſome of the Fierceneſs of
'the *Lion*, and even make their Roar to be heard
'like his, whenever they are injured, or ſo much
'as threatned.

'I do not mean to recommend your *ſeditious*,
'*rebellious Spirit*, which will create a perpetual
'Scene of Tumult and Diſorder, and expoſe every

'State

State to frequent and dangerous Convulſions. Neither would I be thought to approve even that *popular Peeviſhneſs of Temper*, which ſometimes prevails, ſo as to diſcompoſe the Harmony of the ſeveral Orders of Government. But This I aſſert, that *Liberty* cannot be long ſecure, in any Country, unleſs a *perpetual Jealouſy* watches over it, and a *conſtant determined Reſolution* protects it, in the whole Body of the Nation. The *Principle* muſt be permanent and equal. The *Exerciſe* of it ought to be proportion'd to the Occaſions. The hundred Eyes of *Argus* were not always kept open; but they were never all cloſed. The whole Body of a Nation may be as jealous of their *Liberties*, as a private Man of his *Honour*. They may be, at all Times, animated by a generous Reſolution of defending theſe *Liberties*, at any Riſque; as he may, at all Times, feel in his Heart the Courage of venturing his Life to maintain his *Honour*. But as there is no neceſſary Conſequence from this *private Character* to That of a *quarrelſome Bully*; ſo neither is there any neceſſary Conſequence from the *publick Character* I have recommended to That of *a factious, rebellious People*.

'*Liberty* is a tender Plant, which will not flouriſh unleſs the Genius of the Soil be proper for it; nor will any Soil continue to be ſo long, which is not cultivated with inceſſant Care. *Variæ illudunt Peſtes*; *Miſchiefs of various Kinds abound*; and there is no Seaſon, in the Revolution of the great political Year of Government, when we can ſay, with Truth, that *Liberty* is entirely free from immediate, or remote Danger.

'In every Kind of *Government* ſome Powers
'muſt be lodged in particular Men, or particular
'Bodies of Men, for the good Order and Pre-
'ſervation of the whole Community. The
'Lines, which circumſcribe theſe Powers, are the
'Bounds of Separation between the *Prerogatives*
'*of the Prince*, or other Magiſtrate, and the
'*Privileges of the People*. Every Step, which the
'Prince, or Magiſtrate, makes beyond theſe
'Bounds, is an Encroachment on *Liberty*, and
'every Attempt towards making ſuch a Step is a
'Danger to *Liberty*.

'Thus we ſee how great a Truſt is repoſed in
'Thoſe, to whom ſuch Powers are committed;
'and if we look into the Heart of Man, we ſhall
'ſoon diſcover how great, though unavoidable, a
'Temptation is laid in their Way. The Love
'of Power is natural; it is inſatiable; almoſt
'conſtantly whetted; and never cloy'd by Poſſeſ-
'ſion. If therefore all Men will endeavour to
'encreaſe their Power, or at leaſt to prolong and
'ſecure the Enjoyment of it, according to the
'uncertain Meaſure of their own Paſſions, and
'not according to the ſtated Proportion of Reaſon
'and of Law; and if neither one nor the other
'of Theſe can be attempted without a Danger to
'*Liberty*; it follows undeniably that, in the Na-
'ture of Things, the Notion of a perpetual Dan-
'ger to *Liberty* is inſeparable from the very No-
'tion of Government.

'That theſe Principles are true, will appear
'evident from Practice and Experience, as well
'as from Speculation. All Forms of *Government*
'ſuppoſe them to be ſo; and in ſuch as are not

'*abſolute*

abſolute Monarchies we find the utmoſt Precautions, which their ſeveral Inſtitutions admit, taken againſt this Evil; from hence that Rotation of Employments in *Commonwealths*; the annual, or other more frequent Elections of Magiſtrates; and all thoſe Checks and Controuls, which the Wiſdom of Legiſlators, prompted by Experience, has invented.

'In *perfect Democracies* theſe Precautions have been taken in the higheſt Degree; and yet even there They have not been always effectual. They were carry'd ſo far in the *Athenian Form of Government*, that this People ſeem'd more in Danger of falling into *Anarchy* than *Tyranny*; and yet *one of their Magiſtrates* found Means to become their *Tyrant*, and to tranſmit this Power to his Succeſſors.

'In *mix'd Governments*, the Danger muſt ſtill be greater. Such a one we may juſtly reckon That of *Rome*, as well during the *regal* as *republican State*; and ſurely no Hiſtory can be more fruitful in Examples of the Danger, to which *Liberty* ſtands expoſed from the natural, and therefore conſtant Deſire of amplifying and maintaining Power, than the *Roman* Hiſtory is, from the laſt of the *Kings* to the firſt of the *Emperors*.

'A *Monarchy*, limited like ours, may be placed, for aught I know, as it has often been repreſented, juſt in the *middle Point*; from whence a Deviation leads, on one Hand, to *Tyranny*; and, on the other, to *Anarchy*; but ſure I am, that if we are ſituated juſt in the *middle Point*, the leaſt Deviation is the more cautionally to be guarded againſt. *Liberty* would be ſafer, perhaps, if we

'inclined a little more than we do to the *popular*
'*Side*.

'It may be ſaid, and I would anticipate the
'Objection, that if we are thus placed, our Care
'ought to be exerted equally againſt Deviations
'on *either Side*; and that I am the more in the
'Wrong to appear ſo apprehenſive of Thoſe on
'*one Side*, and ſo little apprehenſive of Thoſe on
'the *other*; becauſe even our *own Hiſtory* might
'have ſhewn us, that Deviations to the *popular*
'*Side* have coſt us at leaſt as dear, as ever Thoſe
'to the *other Side* can be pretended to have done.
'But let it be conſider'd;

'*Firſt*, that as far as theſe *national Calamities*,
'hinted at in the Objection, have been the una-
'voidable Conſequences of Methods neceſſary to
'ſecure or retrieve *Liberty*, it is infamous to re-
'pine at them, whatever they have coſt.

'*Secondly*, that the Caſes compared together,
'and ſuppoſed in this Objection to be equal, are
'not ſo. I may ſafely appeal to every impartial
'Reader of our *Hiſtory*, whether any Truth he
'collected from it ever ſtruck him more ſtrongly
'than This; that when the Diſputes between the
'*King* and the *People* have been carry'd to ſuch
'Extremes, as to draw national Calamities after
'them, it has not been owing primarily to the
'Obſtinacy and weak Management of the *Court*,
'and is therefore unjuſtly charged on the juſt
'*Spirit of Liberty*. In Truth, a *Spirit of Liberty*
'will never deſtroy a free Conſtitution; a *Spirit*
'*of Faction* may. But I appeal again, whether
'Thoſe of our Princes, who have had Senſe and
'Virtue enough to encourage the *one*, have had
'any Thing to fear from the *other*.

'Now if Experience ſhews, as I am perſuaded

it

it does, that the Prerogative and Power of a Prince will never be in any real Danger, when he invades, neither openly nor inſiduouſly, the *Liberties of his People*; the ſame Experience will ſhew, that the *Liberties of a People* may be in a very real Danger, when, far from invading the *Prerogative and Power of the Prince*, they ſubmit to *one*, and are even ſo good as to encreaſe the *other*. The Reaſon of this Difference is plain. A *Spirit of Faction* alone will be always too weak to cope with the legal Power and Authority of the *Crown*; and the *Spirit of Liberty*, in the whole Body of the People, which contradiſtinguiſhes this Caſe from the other, may be raiſed by the Fear of *loſing*; but cannot be ſo raiſed by the Hopes of *acquiring*. The *Fear* is common to *all*; the *Hope* can only be particular to a *few*. The *Fear* therefore may become a general Principle of Union; the *Hope* cannot.

'But if a *national Spirit* cannot be any other than a defenſive, and therefore (unprovoked) an harmleſs, inoffenſive *Spirit*; That of a *Prince* cannot, without due Coertion, be kept within the ſame Bounds; for here the Tables are turn'd; and the Hope of *acquiring*, which can never be a common Principle among the *Multitude* to unite and carry them into Action, becomes an almoſt irreſiſtible Motive to the *Prince*; who, by yielding to it, indulges the moſt powerful Paſſions of the Soul; who finds many to ſhare the Difficulties and Dangers of the Enterprize with him; and who ſhares the Prize with none.

'Generally and abſtractedly ſpeaking, therefore, as *publick Liberty* is more expoſed under *mix'd Governments*, than under *perfect Democracies*;

'cies; ſo is it more expoſed under *limited Monar-*
'*chies* than under any other Form of *mix'd Go-*
'*vernment.*

'What encreaſes the Danger to *Liberty* in this
'Caſe is, that the Opportunity of invading it,
'which lies open to a ſovereign Prince, ſuits al-
'moſt any Character. The Powers intruſted to
'other Magiſtrates, as in a *Commonwealth*, are
'ſubject to immediate Controuls; the Exerciſe
'of them is ſubject to future Reviſions; and is
'limited to a ſhort Time; ſo that if ſuch Ma-
'giſtrates invade *Liberty*, with any Proſpect of
'Succeſs, it can only happen, when they are able
'to compenſate for the Diſadvantages of their *po-*
'*litical Circumſtances*, by the Greatneſs of their
'*perſonal Qualifications*; by ſuperior Underſtand-
'ing and ſuperior Courage; by a great, if not a
'good Character; and by the Appearance of
'Virtue at leaſt. Few Men therefore are fit for
'ſuch an Undertaking.

'But the *ſovereign Prince*, who rules in a *limi-*
'*ted Monarchy*, has an Opportunity open to him
'for Life; and ſuch an Opportunity as requires
'no *extraordinary perſonal Qualifications*. He may
'poſſeſs every Vice, or Weakneſs, which is op-
'poſed to the Virtues, or Appearances of Virtue,
'requiſite in the *other Caſe*, and yet may deſtroy
'the *Liberty* of the braveſt People upon Earth.
'The Pretences for concealing his Deſigns, and
'the Helps for carrying them on, which his Si-
'tuation affords above That of any Magiſtrate in
'a *Commonwealth*, will abundantly compenſate
'for the Diſadvantages ariſing from his *perſonal*
'*Character*, and will ſecure his Succeſs, if the
'People are brought, by Artifice or Accident,
'to grow remiſs in watching over their *Liberties*.

'Every

Every Man is therefore fit for ſuch an Undertaking. If theſe general Reflections evince that *Liberty* muſt always be in ſome Degree of Danger under every Government; and that this Danger muſt encreaſe in Proportion, as the *chief Powers* of the State are entruſted in *fewer Hands* and for *longer Terms*; then *Liberty* is always in ſome Degree of Danger; and That not the leaſt, even under our *excellent Conſtitution*; then the Neceſſity of keeping this *jealous Spirit*, the true Guardian of *publick Liberty*, always alive and active in this Nation, is manifeſt; then the Obſervation of our being fallen into the contrary Temper is alone a ſufficient Reaſon to juſtify Mr. *D'Anvers* for joining his Endeavours to awaken us from our *political Lethargy*; then, Sir, my Propoſition is proved, and your Reaſoning falls to the Ground.

This Diſcourſe furniſh'd Matter of much Reflection to the Company; ſome Objections were made; ſome Doubts were propoſed; and ſome Explanations aſk'd for. I ſhall not trouble you with all theſe Particulars, but ſhall conclude my Letter, by relating to you in what Manner the *old Gentleman* reply'd, and by his Reply wound up the Converſation of the Evening.

'I believe, Gentlemen, (ſaid he) that we do 'not differ ſo much as ſome of you ſeem to imagine; for *firſt*, though I deſire the Veſſel of the 'Commonwealth may ſail ſafely, yet I deſire it may 'ſail ſmoothly too; and though I muſt think, till 'I hear better Reaſons to the contrary, that *publick* 'Liberty cannot be ſo eaſily attack'd, and may be 'more eaſily defended, in a *perfect Democracy*, or 'in a *mix'd Republick*, than in a *limited Monarchy*; 'yet will it not follow neceſſarily from hence, as

'has

'has been ſuppoſed, that I prefer the *two firſt* to 'the *laſt* of theſe Forms of Government. On 'either Side there are Compenſations; and if *Li-* 'berty may be better defended in the *former*, yet 'ſtill it may be defended, and domeſtick Quiet is 'perhaps better preſerved in the *latter*.

'*Secondly*, if I agree with the Gentlemen, 'who have inſiſted ſo much on the little Reaſon, 'which there was in the late Reign, or is in the 'preſent, to apprehend any Encroachments from 'the *Crown* on the *Britiſh Liberties*; theſe Gen- 'tlemen muſt, I think, agree with me likewiſe, 'that This will not alter the Caſe; ſubvert what 'I have endeavoured to eſtabliſh; or derive any 'Blame on Thoſe, who have endeavour'd to re- 'vive that *publick Spirit of Watchfulneſs* over all 'national Intereſts, which is the proper and true 'Guardian of *Liberty*, in an Age, when that '*publick Spirit* has more than begun to ſink and 'die away. I hope there will be always Men 'found to preach this Doctrine in Seaſon and out 'of Seaſon, as the Apoſtles preach'd the Goſpel; 'becauſe if *this Spirit* is not kept at all Times in 'Vigour, it may fail us at ſome particular Time, 'when we ſhall want to exert it moſt. In great 'and immediate Danger, the moſt ſluggiſh Cen- 'tinel is alerte; but ſurely They, who, in Times 'of apparent Security, excite us to be upon our 'Guard, do as real Service as They, who ani- 'mate us to our Defence, when we are actually 'attack'd; and the *firſt* is, in my Opinion, that 'Kind of Service, of which we ſtand the moſt 'in need. I confeſs freely, that I ſhould not ap- 'prehend ſo much Danger to *Liberty* in Times of 'Suſpicion, if I ſaw that neither *Power* could 'ſubdue, nor *Artifice* divert, nor *Puſillanimity*

'oblige

oblige Men to abandon *this Spirit*; as I ſhould apprehend in Times of apparent Security, if I obſerved it to be loſt. In a Word, no Laws, no Orders of Government can effectually ſecure *Liberty* any longer than *this Spirit* prevails, and gives them Vigour; and therefore you might argue as reaſonably for repealing any Law, or aboliſhing any Cuſtom, the moſt advantageous to *Liberty*, and which you cannot be ſure of reſtoring at your Pleaſure, becauſe you feel no immediate Want of it; as you have argued for letting *this Spirit* die away, which you cannot be ſure of reviving at your Pleaſure, becauſe you perceive no immediate Occaſion for the Exerciſe of it.

'I hope that I have ſaid enough to give me a Right to conclude in this Manner; and if I was to deſcend into particular Applications of the general Truths, which I have advanced, I think that no Doubt whatever could remain in any of your Minds, upon this Subject.'—After This, our Company broke up. If the ſame Subject is reſumed, when they meet again, or any other, which I judge proper to be communicated to you, it is highly probable that you will hear again from

Your Admirer,

Friend and Servant, &c.

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LETTER II.

SIR,

THE ſame Company hath met, and the ſame Subject hath been reſumed; ſo that I think myſelf under an Obligation of writing to you again.

The *Perſon*, who gave Occaſion to all that was ſaid in your Defence the other Day, ſeem'd very deſirous that the Converſation ſhould be purſued at our laſt Meeting; and therefore as ſoon as we ſate down, He addreſs'd Himſelf thus to the *old Gentleman*, who had fought your Battle.

'Sir, ſaid he, I own myſelf a good deal re-
'conciled to the *Craftſman* by the Diſcourſe you
'held, when We were laſt together. That ſome
'Inconveniencies muſt follow from keeping this
'*Spirit of Jealouſy* and *Watchfulneſs* always alive,
'ſeems to me very evident; but I begin to think
'that this Evil may be neceſſary, in order to ſe-
'cure us againſt greater. Every Syſtem of hu-
'man Invention muſt be liable to ſome Objec-
'tions; and it would be chimerical in us to ex-
'pect a Form of Government liable to none.
'Even *Theocracy* was attended by ſome real In-
'conveniencies, according to the *Jewiſh* Hiſto-
'ries; and neither the Divine Preſence in the Ta-
'bernacle, nor the ambulant Oracle, which the
'Prieſt carry'd about with him, could preſerve
'intire Purity in Religion, or good Order in the
'State. We muſt be content therefore to bear
'the Diſorder I apprehend from *that Ferment*,
'which a perpetual *Jealouſy* of the Governors in
'the Governed will keep up, rather than aban-
'don

lon *that Spirit*, the Life of which is the Life of *Liberty*. When the *Jealouſy* happens to be ill-placed, We may hope it will not riſe to any great and dangerous Height. When it happens to be well grounded, it may have the good Effect of deſtroying a *wicked Miniſter*; of checking a *bad*; or of reclaiming a *miſguided Prince*.

'You ſee, Sir, that my Converſion is pretty far advanced; and if you will pleaſe to deſcend into particular Applications of the general Doctrines you deliver'd, as you gave us Reaſon to hope that you would, it is very probable that the few Doubts I have ſtill may be removed.

The reſt of the Company ſeconded this Requeſt. he good *old Gentleman* yielded to our common eſires, and ſpoke to the following Effect:

'The general Truth I am to prove by particular Examples is This; that *Liberty* cannot be preſerved long by any People, who do not preſerve that watchful and jealous *Spirit of Liberty*, on the Neceſſity of which I have inſiſted. If you are once convinced of this Truth, you will know what Opinion to entertain of *Thoſe*, who endeavour to extinguiſh *this Spirit*, and of *Thoſe*, who do all They can to keep it alive.

'There are two other general Truths relative to This, which I ſhall eſtabliſh likewiſe by particular Examples, as I go along.

'*One* is This, that the *Spirit of Liberty*, far from inſpiring that Raſhneſs and undiſtinguiſhing Fury, which are peculiar to the *Spirit of Faction*, is ſlow to act even againſt the *worſt Princes*, and exerts itſelf in Favour of the *beſt* with more Effect than any *other Spirit* whatever.

'The *ſecond* is This; that how ſlowly ſoever the *Spirit of Liberty* may act in ſuſpicious Times,

'and

‘ and againſt incroaching Governors; yet if it b
‘ kept alive, it will act effectually ſooner or late
‘ though under the greateſt Diſadvantages, an
‘ againſt the moſt powerful Oppoſition; in
‘ Word, in the moſt deſperate Caſes.

‘ The *firſt* of theſe Truths will recommen
‘ *this Spirit* to every *good Prince* and *honeſt Min*
‘ *ſter*. The *other* will encourage every Man, wh
‘ is a Friend to *Liberty*, never to abandon th
‘ Cauſe through Deſpondency of Succeſs, as lon
‘ as He ſees *this Spirit* prevail, or even ſubſiſt.

‘ Having fix'd theſe principal Points of View
‘ let us proceed; and though I would not adviſ
‘ you to admit the Works of *Machiavel* into you
‘ Canon of *political Writings*; yet ſince in Them
‘ as in other apocryphal Books, many excellen
‘ Things are interſperſed, let us begin by impro-
‘ ving an Hint taken from the Diſcourſes of th
‘ *Italian Secretary* on the firſt Decade of *Livy*.

‘ He obſerves that, of all Governments, Thoſ
‘ are the beſt, which, by the natural Effect o
‘ their original Conſtitutions are frequently re-
‘ new'd or drawn back, as He explains his Mean-
‘ ing, to their *firſt Principles*; and that no Go-
‘ vernment can be of a long Duration, wher
‘ This does not happen from Time to Time, ei-
‘ ther from the Cauſe juſt mention'd, or from
‘ ſome accidental Cauſe.

‘ The Reaſon is obvious. There muſt be ſome
‘ Good in the *firſt Principles* of every Govern-
‘ ment, or it could not ſubſiſt at all; much leſs
‘ could it make any Progreſs. But this Good de-
‘ generates, according to the natural Courſe of
‘ Things; and Governments, like all other mix'd
‘ Bodies, tend to Diſſolution by the Changes,
‘ which are wrought in the ſeveral Parts, and by

‘ the

the Unaptneſs and Diſproportion, which reſult from hence throughout the whole Compoſition.

'The moſt effectual, and indeed the ſole Method of maintaining their Health, and prolonging their Life, muſt therefore be to bring them back as near and as frequently as poſſible to *thoſe Principles*, on which their Proſperity, Strength and Duration were originally founded.

'This Change, or Renewal of the State, hath been ſometimes wrought by *external Cauſes*, as it happen'd at *Rome*, upon the Invaſion of the *Gauls*. The *Romans* had departed from their antient Obſervances. The Ceremonies of Religion, and the Laws of Juſtice, were neglected by them. An Enemy, whom they deſpiſed and provoked, conquer'd them. The Impreſſions made by this dreadful Calamity brought them back to their firſt Inſtitutions and to their primitive Spirit. They ſprung up from this *ſecond Original*, as *Livy* calls it, with new Vigour, and roſe to greater Fame, Power and Dignity than ever.

'But not to dwell on ſuch Examples, as point out to us rather the Puniſhment of *Vice*, than the Means of *Reformation*, let us obſerve that this Change, or Renewal of the State, is oftener and better wrought by *internal Cauſes*.

'Many excellent Inſtitutions were contrived in framing the *Roman* Government, which ſerved to maintain in Force the *firſt Principles* of that political Syſtem. Such were the Regulations about *Elections*; the Laws againſt *Bribery*; and many other written Laws, or confirm'd Cuſtoms. Such again was the Conſtitution of the *Senate*, in whom the Majeſty of the Common-

'wealth

‘ wealth reſided, and whoſe Authority controul
‘ the Licentiouſneſs of the People. Such was th
‘ Erection of that ſacred, *tribunitial Power*, who
‘ Prerogatives ſerved to check the Uſurpations
‘ the *Magiſtrates*, and who could arreſt, with o
‘ Word, even the Proceedings of the Senate. Suc
‘ was the Office of the *Cenſors*, whoſe Inquiſiti
‘ ons and Luſtrations corrected Abuſes, reforme
‘ Manners, and purged the Senate itſelf of corru
‘ and unworthy Members.

‘ Theſe Laws, theſe Cuſtoms, theſe differen
‘ Orders, controuling one another, and promo
‘ ting the general Good of the Commonwealth
‘ had great Effect, during ſome Centuries. Bu
‘ this Effect could never have follow'd them at all
‘ if the *Spirit of Liberty*, which had enacted thes
‘ Laws, eſtabliſh'd theſe Cuſtoms, and form'
‘ theſe Orders, had not continued. The ver
‘ beſt Laws are a dead Letter, nay often a Grie
‘ vance, unleſs they are ſtrenuouſly and honeſtl
s executed. They never can be ſo executed, un
‘ leſs the *Spirit* of them poſſeſs Thoſe, to whom
‘ the Execution of them is committed; and it
‘ would be ridiculous to expect to find *this Spirit*
‘ in the *Magiſtrates*, and the ſeveral Orders of the
‘ State, unleſs it appear'd in the Body of the
‘ People, out of whom theſe Magiſtrates are cho-
‘ ſen, and theſe Orders compoſed.

‘ The Examples, which *Machiavel* cites to ſhew
‘ that the Virtue of particular Men among the
‘ *Romans* did frequently draw that Government
‘ back to its *original Principles*, are ſo many Proofs
‘ that the Duration of *Liberty* depends on keeping
‘ the *Spirit* of it alive and warm. Such Exam-
‘ ples were frequent in *Rome*, whilſt *this Spirit*
‘ flouriſh'd. As it decay'd, theſe Examples be-

‘ came

ame more rare, and fail'd at laſt intirely. The *ld Laws* and *Cuſtoms* were, for the moſt Part, till in being. The Forms of *electing Magiſtrates*, and of *promulgating Laws* were, in the main, obſerved. There was ſtill a Senate. There were ſtill *Cenſors* and *Tribunes*. But the *Spirit of Liberty* being ſtifled by That of *Faction* and *Cabal*; and the ſeveral Orders of the Government being tainted by the general Corruption; theſe good Laws and Cuſtoms remain'd without Force; or were ſuſpended; or were abrogated; or were perverted, to ſerve the Purpoſes of private Ambition and Avarice.

'The Time-ſerving Flatterers of Princes and Miniſters have no Point, amongſt all the nauſeous Drudgery impoſed on them, which they are obliged more to labour than That of repreſenting all the Effects of a *Spirit of Liberty* as ſo many Effects of a *Spirit of Faction*. Examples might be found, even without ſearching long, or looking far after them, when This hath been done againſt the publick Senſe of a *whole Nation*, and ſometimes in Favour of a *Cabal*, neither numerous nor conſiderable enough to be call'd a *Party*. But ſtill it will remain eternally true, that the *Spirit of Liberty* and the *Spirit of Faction* are not only different, but repugnant and incompatible; ſo that the Life of *either* is the Death of the *other*.

'We muſt not imagine that the Freedom of the *Romans* was loſt, becauſe *one Party* fought for the Maintainance of *Liberty*; *another* for the Eſtabliſhment of *Tyranny*; and that the *latter* prevail'd. No. The *Spirit of Liberty* was dead, and the *Spirit of Faction* had taken its Place on both Sides. As long as the *former* prevail'd, a

'*Roman*

'*Roman* ſacrificed *his own*, and therefore no Dou
'every other *perſonal Intereſt*, to the Intereſt
'the *Commonwealth*. When the *latter* ſucceede
'the Intereſt of the *Commonwealth* was conſider
'no otherwiſe than in Subordination to that pa
'*ticular Intereſt*, which each Perſon had eſpouſe
'The principal Men, inſtead of making the
'Grandeur and Glory conſiſt, as They formerl
'had done, in That, which the Grandeur an
'Glory of the Commonwealth reflected on them
'conſider'd themſelves now as *Individuals*, not a
'*Citizens*, and each would ſhine with his own
'Light. To this Purpoſe alone they employ'd
'the Commands they had of *Armies*, the Govern
'ments of *Provinces*, and the Influence they ac
'quired over the Tribes at *Rome*, and over the
'Allies and Subjects of the Republick. Upon
'Principles of the ſame Kind, inferior Perſons
'attach'd themſelves to Theſe; and that Zea
'and Induſtry, nay that Courage and Magnani
'mity, which had been exerted formerly in the
'Service of the Commonwealth, were exerted, by
'the *Spirit of Faction*, for *Marius*, or *Sylla*; for
'*Cæſar*, or *Pompey*.

'It is plain that the Liberty of *Rome* would
'not have been irretrievably loſt, though *Cæſar*
'had finiſh'd the civil War with abſolute Succeſs,
'and was ſettled in Power, if the *Spirit of Liberty*
'had not been then loſt in the whole Body of the
'People; if the *Romans* had not been as ripe for
'Slavery, as the *Cappadocians* were fond of it;
'for I think the *Cappadocians* were the People,
'who deſired that a *Prince* might be ſet over
'Them, and refuſed to be a *free People*.

'I cannot believe that Thoſe, who murder'd
'*Cæſar*, took ſuch puerile Meaſures as *Cicero*,

'who

who was not let into the Secret, pretended that they had taken, when he ſaw the Conſequences of their Action. But in This they err'd. They kill'd their *Benefactor*; at leaſt, he was ſuch to the greateſt Part of them; and renew'd the civil War, in order to reſtore *Liberty* to a People, who had loſt the *Spirit of Liberty*, and who would not take it, when it was offer'd to them. Even in the Senate, *Octavius* had a Party; *Anthony* had a Party; but the *Commonwealth* had none. In ſhort, the freeſt People upon Earth, by ſuffering the *Spirit of Liberty* to decay, and That of *Faction* to grow up, became Slaves to ſuch a Succeſſion of Monſters, (continued with very few Exceptions, from the Reign of *Auguſtus* to the Deſtruction of the Empire,) as God never ſent in his Wrath to execute Vengeance on any other Nation.

'Thus I have endeavour'd to illuſtrate and confirm the *firſt general Propoſition* laid down, by a ſummary Application of it to the *Roman* Story. I have not explain'd by what Degrees, and by what Means, *one* of theſe *Spirits* gradually decay'd, and the *other* grew up. The Subject is fine, and the Taſk would be pleaſant; but it is unneceſſary to our preſent Purpoſe. We ſee enough at this Time, if we ſee that, in the greateſt Revolution of the greateſt Government of the World, loſing the *Spirit of Liberty* was the *Cauſe*, and loſing *Liberty* was the *Effect*.

'If now we bring theſe Conſiderations home, we ſhall find not only the *firſt general Propoſition*, but the others, relative to it, illuſtrated and confirm'd through the whole Courſe of our Annals. I ſhall make a Deduction of ſome of theſe Particulars.

‘ culars. To deduce them all would exceed m
‘ Strength and your Patience.

Here one of our Company interrupted the
Gentleman's Diſcourſe, by ſaying that ſince w
were come to a kind of Pauſe, He deſired Leave
make an Obſervation, which he thought pertine
and material, on what had been ſaid, before w
went into any new Matter. — ‘ The Differen
‘ and Oppoſition between a *Spirit of Liberty* a
‘ a *Spirit of Faction*, continued he, hath be
‘ juſtly ſtated. A *Spirit of Liberty* will be alwa
‘ and wholly concern'd about *national Intereſ*
‘ and very indifferent about *perſonal* and *priv*
‘ *Intereſts*. On the contrary, a *Spirit of Facti*
‘ will be always and wholly concern'd about *The*
‘ and very indifferent about the *others*. Wh
‘ they appear therefore in their proper Characte
‘ they are diſtinguiſh'd as eaſily as Light an
‘ Darkneſs; and the Danger I apprehend is ove
‘ But *Faction* puts on the Maſk of *Liberty*; an
‘ under this falſe Appearance, diſputes her Bein
‘ even with *Liberty* herſelf. Now here, methink
‘ a great many Dangers ariſe; the Danger of mi
‘ taking, when it is ſo hard to diſtinguiſh; th
‘ Danger of being Bubbles and Tools of *Factio*
‘ whilſt we fancy ourſelves Aſſertors of *publick Li*
‘ *berty*; the Danger of continuing under this De
‘ luſion, till it is too late to prevent ſuch Miſchie
‘ as we never intended to bring on our Country.
‘ The *Spirit of Faction* may take (and, I doub
‘ not, hath often taken) Poſſeſſion of Numbers,
‘ who meant to entertain no *other Spirit* than That
‘ of *Liberty*; for Numbers have not the Diſcern
‘ ment of *Spirits*. This Poſſeſſion may continue
‘ and, in Fact, I believe it hath continued very
‘ often, till *Faction* hath accompliſh'd, or ſecured
‘ the

he Accompliſhment of her Ends. I made this Obſervation, which reſults naturally from what hath been ſaid, and inſiſt upon it, becauſe if *Faction* could not lie latent under the moſt ſpecious and popular Pretences imaginable, there would be no great need of putting us on our Guard againſt it; and becauſe if it can lie thus latent and conceal'd, we may be expoſed to the Dangers I have mention'd, which Side ſoever of the Queſtion we take in political Diſputes. At this Time, to ſpeak as I think, the Caſe is ſo clear on *one Side*, that no Man, who adheres to it, hath the leaſt Pretence left him to ſay that he purſues the *publick Intereſt*; or is directed in his Conduct by the generous, diſ-intereſted Spirit of *Liberty*.

'I could ſupport my Aſſertion by many Proofs, if it was neceſſary in this Company. One I will mention for its Singularity; and it is This.

'We have ſeen and heard in a Nation, hitherto free, *ſuch Maxims* avow'd and pleaded for, as are inconſiſtent with all the Notions of *Liberty*. *Corruption* hath been defended, nay recommended, as a proper, a neceſſary, and therefore a reaſonable Expedient of Government; than which there is not, perhaps, any one Propoſition more repugnant to the common Senſe of Mankind, and to univerſal Experience. Both of theſe demonſtrate *Corruption* to be the laſt, deadly Symptom of *agonizing Liberty*. Both of them declare that a People, abandon'd to it, are abandon'd to a reprobate Senſe, and are loſt to all Hopes of *political Salvation*.

'The *Dependence* of the *legiſlative* on the *executive Power* hath been contended for by the ſame

' Perſons, under the ſame Direction; and yet no
' thing ſurely can be more evident than *This*;
' that in a Conſtitution like ours, the Safety o
' the *whole* depends on the *Ballance of the Parts*
' and the *Ballance of the Parts* on their mutual *In*
' *dependency on one another*; agreeably to which
' *Thuanus* makes *Ferdinand* ſay, in anſwer to the
' *Caſtilians*, who preſs'd him to take away the *In*
' *dependency* of the States of *Arragon*; *Æquilibri*
' *Potentiæ Regni Regiſque ſalutem publicam contineri*;
' *& ſi contingeret aliquando alterum alteri præpon*
' *derare, proculdubio alterius aut utriuſque Ruinam*
' *ex eo ſecuturam*; *That the publick Safety depends o*
' *the equal Ballance of the Power of the* King, *an*
' *of the Power of the* Kingdom; *and that if ever i*
' *ſhould happen that* one *outweigh'd the* other, *th*
' *Ruin of* one, *or of* both, *muſt undoubtedly*
' *follow.*

' On *one Side* then the Maſk is pull'd off. The
' weak may be ſeduced to concur; the ſtronger
' may be forced to ſubmit; but no Man can be
' any longer deceived.

' On the *other*, it muſt be acknowledged that
' the Appearances are extreamly fair. True No-
' tions of *Liberty* and *good Government* are profeſs'd
' and purſued. Our *Grievances* are complain'd of;
' our *Dangers* are foretold; not only *Thoſe*, which
' all Men feel or ſee, but *Thoſe*, which are more
' remote from Obſervation. In ſhort, the *Spirit*
' *of Liberty*, ſuch as it hath been deſcribed, ſeems
' to breathe from *this Quarter*, and to diffuſe its
' Influences over the Nation.

' As I am a Lover of my Country, and of *Li-*
' *berty*, I have rejoyced in This. I rejoice in it
' ſtill; and yet I confeſs freely that I took ſome
' Umbrage at a *Paper*, which came out not long
' ago.

ago. The Deſign and Tendency of it ſeem'd to me to favour the Cauſe of a *Faction*; and of a *Faction*, however contemptible in its preſent State, always to be guarded againſt. The Paper I mean is *Fog*'s *Journal* of the 6th of *June*; where yon have ſeen a ridiculous Speech, ſuppoſed to be made by General *Monk*, and tranſlated, as the Author ſays, from *Leti's Hiſtory of Oliver Cromwell.*

'If this wretched Production had appear'd in *Miſt's Journal*, I ſhould have felt neither Surprize nor Concern. *That Writer* never wore ſo much as the *Maſk of Liberty*; and ſhew'd his Game ſo plainly, that whatever he got by *Faction*, *Faction* could get nothing by Him. But *Fog*, who writes incomparably better, hath appear'd to write with a much better Deſign. Thoſe, who are warmeſt in the *national Intereſt*, without Regard to *Perſons*, and independently of all *Factions*, have made this Judgment of Him; and therefore I was ſurpriſed and concern'd to find that He expoſed Himſelf even once, or in any Degree, to the ſame Reproach as was frequently and juſtly made to his *Predeceſſor.*

The *Gentleman*'s Obſervation gave Occaſion to much Diſcourſe. Our *old Sage* deſired it might be remember'd that he had not undertaken the Defence of every *weekly Writer*, though he had undertaken yours, Mr. D'*Anvers*. 'The *Paper*, 'continued he, which hath been ſo much mention'd, is a very ſilly Paper, to whatever Purpoſe it was deſign'd.

'If it was deſign'd to inſpire an Horror of thoſe 'Miſeries, from which the *Reſtoration* deliver'd 'the Nation, it was a very ſuperfluous Work at

‘ this Time, when there is no real, or pretende
‘ Difference of Opinion upon that Head among
‘ us. Thoſe, who do not go to Church upon th
‘ 29th of *May*, nor on any other Day, will a
‘ gree with Thoſe, who do, in this Point, upo
‘ better Authority that That of *Leti*, and for be
‘ ter Reaſons than Thoſe, which are contain'd i
‘ the fooliſh Declamation attributed to *Monk*.

‘ If it was deſign'd to make us commemora
‘ the Reſtoration of the two Brothers, *Charles* an
‘ *James*, as a national Bleſſing in itſelf, and inde
‘ pendently of the other Conſideration, the Pro
‘ ject was equally ridiculous. The Flattery be
‘ ſtow'd upon *theſe Princes*, whilſt they were i
‘ *Exile*, might paſs, and many Things concurr
‘ to make it paſs. But to talk in the ſame Sti
‘ to Mankind at this Time, when they have bot
‘ ſate on our Throne; when ſo many of us remem
‘ ber both what they *did*, and what they *would*
‘ *have done*, is contemptible to the laſt Degree.

‘ If it was deſign'd for more *modern Applicatio*
‘ and to raiſe a Spirit amongſt us, in favour o
‘ the *Pretender*, the Project was too fooliſh t
‘ have been hatch'd at home. It muſt have bee
‘ imported from abroad. What *Jacobite* can be
‘ ſanguine enough to hope that his Cauſe ſhould
‘ revive, when he beholds the heroical King and
‘ Queen, who fill our Throne, auſpicious Parents
‘ of a numerous Progeny of young Heroes and
‘ Heroines, riſing up to emulate their Virtues, and
‘ to gladden, like them, the *Britiſh* Nation.

‘ This ſingle Conſideration might be ſufficient
‘ to damp the Hopes of any *Jacobite*, who lives
‘ at home, and is a Witneſs of all this Glory.
‘ But however I ſhall mention another, which
‘ ought to have its Weight likewiſe, and which

‘ will

will have more perhaps amongſt ſome People. The Spirit of *Jacobitiſm* is not only gone; but it will appear to be gone in ſuch a Manner as to leave no Room to apprehend its Return; if we reflect that it hath died away, whilſt all that could be done to keep it alive was doing by *Thoſe*, who profeſs'd it, and by *Thoſe*, who valued and recommended themſelves on their Oppoſition to all the Effects of it; if we conſider the Numbers of People, who have abandon'd this Intereſt, notwithſtanding the utmoſt Provocations to the contrary.

'In ſhort, I perſuade myſelf that if the *Pretender* had no Rival in the Throne, inſtead of having there one ſo formidable as our moſt auguſt Monarch; yet his Way to the Throne would not be more open to him. The whole Bulk of the People hath been brought by the *Revolution*, and by the preſent Settlement of the Crown, to entertain Principles, which very few of us defended in my younger Days. The *Safety* and *Welfare of the Nation* are now the firſt and principal Objects of Regard. The Regard to *Perſons* and to *Families* hath been reduced to the ſecond Place; and it holds even That but under the Direction of the *former*. Can any Man believe that a People, brave enough to diſpoſe of *their Crown* for the greateſt national Advantage, even when the Throne was full, will ever diſpoſe of it as long as the *Spirit of Liberty* remains amongſt them, for the greateſt national Miſchief, if the Throne ſhould be empty?

'There is but *one Deſign more*, which I can conceive to have given Occaſion to this ſilly Paper; but *one Quarter more*, from which it

'could possibly come; and these Guesses, perhaps
'will not appear the least probable. Might
'it not be design'd to instil a Jealousy of *Jac-*
'*bitism*, and to prejudice Mankind against all
'Writings, which *Those*, who are offended at
's them, connot answer? — Might it not be de-
'sign'd to furnish the *spruce*, *pert*, *Orator*, who
'strew'd some of his Flowers in the *Daily Cou-*
'*rant* of the 11th of *June*, with an Hint, which
'He hath most happily and modestly improved?
'*Fog*, says He, *avows* Jacobitism; *the* Craftsman
'*concurs in the same Design*; *nay*, *every Jacobite in*
'England *sinks his Master's divine Right in the po-*
'*pular Topicks of Debts*, *Taxes* and *Corruption*; so
'that *Jacobitism* may now be imputed, upon this
'Authority, to ninety nine in an hundred of the
'whole Nation; for ninety nine in an hundred
'do complain of *Debts*, *Taxes* and *Corruption*. I
'am sure there is *Arrogance* and *Impertinence* both
'in such an Insinuation too gross to be deny'd;
'whereas the *Craftsman* may destroy the whole
'Proof, brought against Him of *Arrogance*, by
'answering *three silly Questions* in the *Negative*.

'If This was the Design, I will be bold, for
'bold it may justly seem, to say that *this Expe-*
'*dient* is, at least, as bungling and likely to prove
'as ineffectual, as any that have been produced
'by the *same great Genius*, who contrived it;
'for if we were inclined to believe that the
'*Craftsman*, *Fog*, or any other Person, carries on
'the Measures of *Faction*, under the Mask of
'*Liberty*; should we believe it on the Credit of
'*Those*, who oppose them, and who are notori-
'ously influenced to write (though under specio-
'ous Pretences of promoting Loyalty to the *King*,

'and

and an Acquieſcence in his *Majeſty's Meaſures*, yet in reality) for no other Service than That of a *ſmall Number of Men*; nay, ſtrictly ſpeaking, of a *ſingle Man?* With what Face can *ſuch Writers* impute *Faction* to any one living, or dead?

'Let them be aſſured that we can examine and judge for ourſelves; and that neither the *Craftſman*, nor *Fog* would be able, if they went about it, to impoſe upon us, any more than they themſelves have been able to do.

'The *pretty Author*, I juſt now mention'd, begins his Eſſay with Airs of *Wit*, and ends it with Airs of *Wiſdom*. What pity is it that he ſhould ſucceed in neither? In his firſt Paragraph he repreſents the *Craftſman*, with curious Impropriety, as a *Magician*, who conjures up *Spirits*; as a *Dog*, who barks at a Diſtance; as a *little Inſect*, who nibbles at a Character; and my Friend *Caleb* was all theſe Things, it ſeems, at the ſame Inſtant. After this Specimen of Writing, we may expect to ſee him compared, in ſome other Production of the *ſame Author*, to a *Bird*, and made to fly different Ways and in different Places at once.

'But let us leave the *Wit*, and come to the *Wiſdom*; which will bring us back to our Subject.

'In the laſt Paragraph of this elaborate Piece, the Author ſets the Example of my Lord *Falkland* and others before our Eyes; who ſtrengthen'd, as He ſays, the republican Party ſo long, *that when They found out their Deſigns and forſook them, it was too late to prevent them.* After This, He calls moſt charitably on ſeveral, well-mean-

' ing Perſons to take Warning; for ſome, who
' He allows to be ſuch, He thinks in Danger
' being drawn in to favour the Purpoſes of Tho
' whom He calls *Oppoſers of our Government.*

' Behold this *little Gamaliel in Cathedra!* O
' ſerve the Scholars He places at his Feet for I
' ſtruction! *Riſum teneatis Amici?* Can the gr
' veſt of you forbear Laughter?

' When We come to apply the general Prop
' ſitions laid down ſtill more particularly to t
' *Engliſh*, than We have done to the *Roman* H
' tory, I ſhall ſhew you perhaps that *this Auth*
' like moſt other *fine Men*, treaſures up in h
' Memory the Obſervations He meets with
' Hiſtory, inſtead of making his own upon t
' Examination and Compariſon of the Facts a
' Characters He finds there; and that the Exa
' ple He hath choſen will come out againſt t
' very Purpoſe He hath apply'd it to. In t
' mean Time, let us obſerve that the Alar
' which hath been taken by ſome of this Comp
' ny, and I ſuppoſe by others, at the Publicati
' of that ſtupid Paper in *Fog's Journal*, ſhews ho
' little Reaſon there is to apprehend that Tho
' who are actuated by the *Spirit of Liberty*, an
' purſue the *national Intereſt*, ſhould be impoſed up
' on by the *Spirit of any Faction.*

' The *Spirit of Liberty* is a jealous *Spirit*; an
' *Faction* is equally the Object of its Jealouſ
' whether the Views of *Faction* be directed in Fa
' vour of the Crown, or againſt it. I make thi
' Diſtinction here, though I ſhall have Occaſion t
' ſpeak more fully upon it hereafter, becauſe I per
' ceive that We are apt to confine our Idea o
' *Faction* to ſuch Men and ſuch Meaſures, as are
' in

in Oppoſition to the Men in Power, and to the Meaſures They take; whereas in Truth a *Number of Men in Power*, who exerciſe it ſolely for their *own private Advantage* and *Security*, and who treat the Nation as their *Farm*, or rather as a Country under Contribution to them, (let Them ſhelter Themſelves under what Authority They pleaſe) are as much a *Faction*, as any Number of Men, who under *popular Pretences* endeavour to ruin, or at leaſt to diſturb the Government, that they may raiſe Themſelves.

'If the *Spirit of Liberty* were extinguiſh'd, as it is diſcouraged, the *Spirit of ſome Faction or other* would, no doubt, prevail; but this would not ſucceed under the Maſk of *Liberty*. There would be, in ſuch a Caſe, no Need of wearing this Diſguiſe. Men would avow *Faction*. They would chuſe That, which ſuited their Intereſt beſt; and indeed it would be of no great Moment which They choſe.

'But if the *Spirit of Liberty*, which begins to revive in this Country, becomes prevalent, there will remain nothing to fear from any *Faction* whatever, whether *mask'd*, or *unmask'd*. Whilſt it is *mask'd*, and the Inſtruments, or Members of it purſue the *national Intereſt*, though they intend *another*, the bad Principle is however ſo far productive of Good, and the Cauſe of Virtue is ſo far promoted by Vice itſelf. When it comes to be *unmask'd*, and the Inſtruments, or Members of it are hurry'd by Indiſcretion, or forced by the Courſe of Events, as They muſt be, to ſhew their Game, *Faction* is that Moment diſarm'd. The Diſtinction mark'd, the Separation follows of Courſe; and Thoſe, who eſpouſe the Cauſe of the *Nation*, will find Themſelves

'doubly ſtrengthen'd by the Aſſiſtance, which
'*Faction* gave Them at one Time, and by the
'Oppoſition ſhe makes to Them at another. In
'ſhort, Gentlemen, the Spirit of *Jacobitiſm* may
'crawl about and ſkulk in Corners. The Spirit
'of the *other Faction* may roll in gilded Spires, and
'with erected Creſts, in every publick Place, and
'hiſs and threaten and caſt its Venom around;
'but the *Spirit of Liberty*, like the divine Rod of
'*Aaron*, will devour all the Serpents of the *Magi-*
'*cians*.

'I ſee therefore no Cauſe to fear that We may
'be drawn in to ſerve the Purpoſes of *Faction*,
'whilſt We purſue the Cauſe of *Liberty*; and if
'we ſuffer'd ourſelves to be drawn off from this
'Purſuit by the Jealouſy, which one *one Faction*
'endeavours to give us of *another*, We ſhould be
'arrant Bubbles indeed. *Fog* is not to be defend-
'ed for publiſhing a Paper liable every Way to
'Blame, and capable of no Excuſe; but if He
'hath hurt any Body by it, He hath hurt himſelf;
'and the Weight, which is laid upon it by Thoſe
'on *one Side*, (who, perhaps, writ it) is as ridicu-
'lous as the Project of Thoſe, who thought to
'advance the *Jacobite* Cauſe by it, if it came
'from *that Side*.

Here the *old Gentleman* broke off, and though He was preſs'd to reſume the Diſcourſe He had begun, when this Interruption happen'd, He deſired to be excuſed, becauſe it was late, and promiſed to comply with our Requeſt upon ſome other Occaſion. If He keeps his Word, as I am perſuaded He will, you ſhall hear again from,

SIR, Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER III.

SIR,

OUR *old Gentleman* having kept his Word with the Company, I deſign'd to have kept mine with you; but ſome Buſineſs calling me into the Country, I ſend you a few Minutes of the Converſations, which have paſs'd, in Hopes that the Subject will nor be left imperfect for as long a Time as my Affairs may oblige me to be abſent. Throw theſe Minutes into what Form, and make what Uſe of them you pleaſe. They are deſign'd to to ſerve an *honeſt Cauſe*; the Cauſe of *Truth*, and of *Liberty*. You have eſpouſed it; andI hope will purſue it.

You are able to do This with Succeſs, even in Oppoſition to the moſt plauſible Writers; and how much more againſt the *curſory Obſervator*, who appear'd in the *Daily Courant*, and the *London Journaliſt?*

I do not ſuppoſe you will think it worth your while to ſet ſeriouſly about anſwering Them; but it may be worth while now and then to ſhew Them how little they deſerve to be anſwer'd.

They complain heavily of the *Prolixity* and *Dulneſs* of the Letters, which you have publiſh'd. Might They not be taught, what They have already taught the World, that an Eſſay of *two* or *three Columns* may be longer than an Eſſay of *five* or *ſix?* Let them not carp at my Words, ſince They cannot miſtake my Meaning.

Might

Might They not be convinced that They are the leaſt competent Judges, in the whole Nation, of the *Dulneſs* of others, for this plain Reaſon; that it is not in the Caſe of *Dulneſs*, as it is in That of *Wit* and *Learning*; in which He is the beſt Judge of theſe Qualities in others, who poſſeſſes them Himſelf in the moſt eminent Degree?

But there is a *Judge*, before whom all Productions of this Sort are try'd, and by whoſe Sentence alone They muſt ſtand, or fall. This Judge is the *Publick*; and I am apt to think that theſe Authors may be inform'd of the Sentence pronounced by the *Publick* on your Papers, Mr. *D'Anvers*, and on their own, if They will take the Trouble to enquire of *Meſſieurs Roberts*, *Peele*, and *Franklin*.

I am even inclined to believe that they have enquired; and that, deſpairing of Succeſs before *this Tribunal*, they have appeal'd to *another*; where Thoſe, whom the *Publick* rejects, are pretty ſure of being received.

Sure I am, that they cannot hope to ſucceed any where elſe, whilſt they found their Merit on *Billingſgate*, *falſe Quotations*, *groſs Miſrepreſentations*, and an eternal *Begging of the Queſtion*.

That they are guilty of all Theſe may be ſoon proved. I will point out ſome Inſtances; as many as the Haſte I am in allows me Time to mention.

The *curſory Obſervator* accuſes *You* and *Me* (for *theſe Writers* are pleaſed to ſuppoſe us to be the *ſame Perſon*, who correſponds with *Himſelf*) of *quoting falſly*, and *applying fooliſhly*, in every Caſe, whilſt he *quotes falſly himſelf*, and ridicules the *Application*

lication of what, it is manifeſt, he never read. His whole Charge is built on a *Lye* and a *Blunder*. *Machiavel* is made, according to him, in one of my Letters, to ſuppoſe, *That the firſt Deſtruction of* Rome *by the* Gauls (and I never heard of a *ſecond) was a Judgment from Heaven on the People, for their having departed from their antient Obſervances and religious Ceremonies.*— With this he makes himſelf wonderfully merry; and having heard that *Machiavel* did not paſs for a very ſtrong Believer, he ridicules the Imputation of ſuch a Suppoſition to that *great Politician.*

But let *this Scribbler* learn to read, before he blots any more Paper. Let him learn to ſpeak of what is, or is not in Books, after he hath look'd into thoſe Books, and not from his idle Imagination of what an Author would, or would not have ſaid, agreeably to the Character of the Author, which his Ignorance hath taken upon Truſt.

My *old Gentleman* never ſaid, that *Machiavel* ſuppoſed *the Deſtruction of* Rome *by the* Gauls *was a Judgment from Heaven*; but he reckon'd amongſt other Particulars, in which the *Romans* had begun to degenerate, and to which they were brought back by this great Misfortune, That of neglecting the *Ceremonies of Religion* and the *Laws of Juſtice.* Now *Machiavel* does ſay This in expreſs and ſtrong Terms, as *this Writer* would have known, if he had conſulted the *firſt Chapter of the third Book of his Diſcourſes on* Livy.

But I will tell him ſomething more. This very *Machiavel* hath written a whole Chapter concerning the * *Religion of the Romans*; in which he mentions that *Rome* was more obliged to *Numa* than

* L. 1. c. 11.

than to *Romulus*; in which he ſhews that he Grandeur and Felicity were owing to her *Religion*; nay, he aſſerts in general, that as *Religion* raiſe Commonwealths, ſo the Contempt of it muſt ruin them. *Good Gods! Is This talking like* Machiavel! ——Why truly it is thus that *Machiavel* talks; and in talking thus he ſhews more Learning and Senſe than the *Obſervator* is Maſter of.

Caſt your Eye, Mr. *D'Anvers*, on the next Paragraph; in which this able Perſon undertakes to prove *from Reaſon*, as well as Hiſtory, a *Matter of Fact*. The Fact is this; that the Deſtruction of *Rome*, by the *Gauls*, was owing to the Oppoſition ſet on Foot *to the Meaſures and Perſon of the great and much injured* Camillus.

It was a great Miſtake, it ſeems, to mention *this Incident in the Roman Hiſtory*, in one of my Letters. The *Obſervator* ſhall find that it was a greater Blunder in him to dwell upon it.

He knows as little of *Livy* as he does of *Machiavel*, or I believe of any other good Author. Let him turn to the *Roman* Hiſtorian. He will find that *Livy*, in the Tranſition, which he makes from the Proſecution of *Camillus* to the Invaſion of the *Gauls*, ſays, *That if there be any Thing certain in human Affairs*, Rome *could not have been taken, if that Citizen had remain'd in it*. But does he attribute the Invaſion of the *Gauls* to this Man's Baniſhment? No. He attributes it to the Conduct of *three raſh* and *fooliſh Brothers*, who were ſent Ambaſſadors to the *Gauls*, and who, by breaking the Law of Nations, juſtly provoked this People. He attributes it to the Force of a *Faction*, which prevail'd to ſcreen *theſe Criminals*, and expoſed the State to Ruin, rather than give them up to Juſtice.

Thus

Thus the *Fact* ſtands in Hiſtory. Let the *Obſervator* now conſider whether it would be very difficult to make certain Applications of it, which he would not like. I doubt theſe Applications would appear much more appoſite than That, which is ſaid to be intended, in his Paper, *of the Character of the great and much injured* Camillus.

He ſucceeds, you ſee, but ill, when He meddles with *Facts*; and I do not find that He pretends much to *Reaſon*. The reſt of his Paper contains little more than *Fool*, *Knave*, *Libeller*, *Incendiary*, *&c.* I ſhall therefore take Notice of but one Thing more; and That is the Advantage He would make of a Miſtake in *Printing*.

He muſt have perceived, or He can perceive nothing, than it was a Miſtake in *Printing*. If the Meaning of my Letter had been, that the *Craftſman* might deſtroy the whole Proof of *Arrogance* brought againſt Him, by anſwering in the *Negative* all the Queſtions aſked in the Paragraph referred to, it ſhould have been ſaid *five ſilly Queſtions*; for They are *five*, not *four*; but the Truth is, that no Regard was had to the *two introductory Queſtions*; and that the *three main Queſtions*, which follow, were alone meant. A *Writer* muſt be reduced very low, by his *Cauſe*, or be very low in his *Character*, who catches at ſuch an impertinent Opportunity of being what He imagines *ſmart*.

I ſhould ſay a Word or two to the profound Mr. *Osborne*, who hath been pleaſed to let us know, that He prefers the *abſolute Monarchy of Auguſtus* to the *free State of the Roman* Commonwealth. He prefers, *likewiſe*, I ſuppoſe, (at leaſt his Diſcourſe leads one to think ſo) the Violence, the Treachery, and the bloody Maſſacres, on which

which this *abſolute Monarchy* was founded, to th
civil Diſorders, which were occaſion'd by eſtab
liſhing and maintaining an *equal Commonwealth*
I ſhould deſire him to compare the Reigns of
Caligula, a *Nero*, a *Domitian*, an *Heliogabalu*
(which had never happen'd, if the Uſurpation o
Auguſtus had never happen'd) with the glorio
fourth and *fifth Centuries* of the Republick of *Rom*
but I have not, at preſent, Time for this.
hope you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, will give Him ſom
ſalutary Correction at your Leiſure, and mak
Him aſhamed of having prophaned the Langua
of a *free People* in ſo proſtitute a Manner, and t
ſuch ſlaviſh Purpoſes! Adviſe Him to learn bett
Notions of Government from Mr. *Gordon*'s excel
lent Diſcourſes, prefix'd to his Tranſlation o
Tacitus; in which He will find his Favourit
Auguſtus ſet in a true Light, and proved to be a
infamous Tyrant, though ſomewhat more arti
than his *Succeſſors*. He muſt certainly acknow
ledge the Obligation; ſince you cannot be ſuſpect
ed of doing it on any Account but That of a cha
ritable Diſpoſition towards Him. If He wa
capable of impoſing on the dulleſt *Quidnunc* in an
Coffee-Houſe, or of ſeducing the moſt raw Boy
that ever eloped from School, you might be
ſuſpected of ſome farther and deeper Deſign; but
when you write againſt ſo harmleſs a Creature,
your Efforts muſt paſs, and ought to paſs, for the
pure Effects of the moſt diſintereſted, the moſt re
fined Charity.

Let me only aſk the Favour of you to touch
three Points, amongſt others, whenever you conde
ſcend to meddle with *Squire Oſborne*. *One* is to
aſſure him, in my Name, (and, if you pleaſe, in
your own) that a *good Miniſter* ought not to be
abuſed;

uſed; nay more, that he, who abuſes him, is a *ogue*, a *Raſcal*, and an *impudent* (I had almoſt id, for I conform to his Dialect, a *traiterous*) *llow*; and might have juſtified myſelf by the uthority of a Writer on Mr. *Oſborne*'s Side, who lked of *Allegiance to Miniſters*; but let this im-ortant Author know, at the ſame Time, that we efy him to make the leaſt Uſe of theſe Conceſſi-ns, againſt any one Sentence, any one Word in ny *Craftſman*, that hath been publiſhed.

There are *two other Things*, of which I deſire ou likewiſe to take Notice. *One* is ſcandalouſly mpudent; the *other* infamouſly unfair.

When his *Patron* is commended by any honeſt Man in *Britain*, is is done moſt certainly with a *Sneer*. The *great Man* is an Expreſſion, which ath undoubtedly occaſioned more *Sneers* than his Nation had ſeen in a Century before; but it is ſaucy and impudent in Mr. *Osborne* to ſuppoſe that one, who ſpeaks of the *King* and *royal Family* with all the Reſpect that is due to Them, means a *Sneer*.

The *other Thing*, which I deſire you to take Notice of, is the malicious and mean Comment made on an Expreſſion in my laſt Letter to you, where I called his preſent Majeſty a *formidable Rival of the Pretender*. Mr. *Osborne* is pleaſed, out of the Abundance of his Loyalty, to reſent This as an Inſult on the King. Now though, in Strictneſs of Fact, and Propriety of Language, his Majeſty neither is a *Rival* to any Body, nor can have a *Rival*, being our *rightful* and *lawful King*, by the Conſent of his People in *Parliament*; (the *only good Title* to the Crown of theſe Realms;) yet in Pretenſion there is a *Rivalry*; and I may defy Mr. *Osborne* to give any other Reaſon for keeping up ſo large an *Army* in Times of *Peace*.

You

You will obſerve, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that the o
Deſign of this Letter is to make ſome ſhort O
ſervations on two ſilly Papers, which have be
publiſh'd againſt my *former Letters* to you. Y
are now deſired to apply the *old Gentleman*'s gene
Poſitions to the *Engliſh Hiſtory*, from the Minu
which I have ſent you, and which I believe w
be as agreeable to the *Publick*, as it was to the *Co*
pany, in which he delivered it.

I am SIR,

Your Friend and Reader, &c.

REMARKS

REMARKS
ON THE
HISTORY *of* ENGLAND

LETTER IV.

FEW Nations have gone through more Revolutions, few Governments have appear'd more unſteady, or fluctuated more between *Prerogative* and *Privilege* than This of *Great Britain*.

If we are *Freemen*, it is becauſe the *Spirit of Liberty* has been never yet quite extinquiſh'd among us.

We have been ſurprized, betrayed, forced, more than once, into Situations little better than That of *downright Slavery*. But theſe Uſurpations have not become Settlements. They have diſorder'd the Frame, but not deſtroy'd the Principles of a *free Government*. Like cloudy Mornings, They have ſoon paſs'd over, and the Sun of *Liberty* has broke out again with double Force, and double Luſtre.

It muſt be a Pleaſure to reflect on that Uniformity of *Spirit*, which created and has conſtantly preſerved, or retrieved the original Freedom of the *Britiſh* and *Saxon Conſtitutions*.

I feel a ſecret Pride in thinking that I was born a *Briton*; when I conſider that the *Romans*, thoſe Maſters of the World, maintain'd their Liberty little

little more than ſeven Centuries; and that *Britain*, which was a free Nation above ſeven hundred Years ago, is ſo at this Hour.

However ſavage our *Britiſh* Anceſtors may be repreſented by the *Romans*, (whom the Luxury of *Greece*, and the Effeminacy of *Aſia*, had already corrupted) They certainly were a People of *Spirit* and of *Senſe*; who knew the Ends of Government, and obliged their Governors to purſue those Ends.

Cæſar himſelf acknowledges, that They fought boldly for their *Liberties*, when He invaded them; and there is good Reaſon to believe, from his manner of Writing, and abrupt Way of leaving this Iſland, that They gave Him a warmer Reception than He is willing to own.

But to ſpeak of them after an Authour, in whoſe Time they were better known than they were by *Cæſar*, or even by *Tacitus*; *Dion Caſſius* when he is about to relate the Expedition of *Severus* into *Britain*, ſays, *That they held a great Part of the Government in their own Power.*

Their long Reſiſtance againſt the *Saxons* ſhews their Love of *civil Liberty.*

Their long Reſiſtance againſt the Uſurpations of the Church of *Rome*, begun by *Gregory*, that Flatterer of *Phocas* and *Brunehault*, under Pretence of converting the *Saxons*, ſhews their Love of *eccleſiaſtical Liberty.*

Though the *Saxons* ſubmitted to the Yoke of *Rome*, in Matters of Religion, they were far from giving up the Freedom of their *Gothic* Inſtitutions of Government.

The *Saxon Heretoges* (That is, *publick Generals*) were choſen only to conduct them in *War* and in *Peace.*

Theſe

These *Heretoges*, among the *German* Colonies, who ſettled in the Countries they conquer'd, and founded new Governments, became *Kings*, and had Trappings enough to ſet off their Majeſty, and to enforce their Authority; but the ſupreme Power center'd in the *Micklemote*, or *Wittagenmote*, compoſed of the *King*, the *Lords*, and the *Saxon Freemen*, that original Sketch of a *Britiſh Parliament*.

Here all important Affairs were treated. The Conduct of their *Kings* was examined in it, and controul'd by it.

The Rights of the People, in thoſe Days, muſt have been carry'd to a very great Height; ſince they went Hand in Hand with Thoſe of the *Church*; and ſince a poſitive Law declared, that if the King did not defend both, *He ſhould loſe even the Name of King. Nec Nomen Regis in eo conſtat, verum Nomen Regis perdit.*

The Principles of the *Saxon Commonwealth* were therefore very *democratical*; and theſe Principles prevail'd through all ſubſequent Changes.

The *Danes* conquered the Crown, but they wore it little; and the Liberties of the *Saxon* Freemen they never conquer'd; nor wrought any Alteration in the Conſtitution of the Government.

Thus much it was thought neceſſary to premiſe concerning the original Conſtitution of our Government. We now come to that Period of Hiſtory, from whence We propoſe to deduce our following Remarks.

WILLIAM, the *Norman*, is come down to us in Hiſtory under the Character of a *Conqueror*; and though it may be diſputed whether

ther he was ſtrictly ſo any more than ſeveral o
Princes, who have ſupported their Titles by t
Swords: yet we may confeſs, that he impoſed
ny new Laws and Cuſtoms; that he made
great Alterations in the whole Model of Gov
ment; and that He, as well as his two S
ruled, upon many Occaſions, like *abſolute*,
limited Monarchs.

Yet neither *He*, nor *They* could deſtroy the
Conſtitution; becauſe neither *He*, nor *They* c
extinguiſh the old *Spirit of Liberty*.

On the contrary, the *Normans* and other Str
gers, who ſettled here, were ſoon ſeized with
themſelves, inſtead of inſpiring a *Spirit of*
very into the *Saxons*.

They were originally of * *Celtick*, or *Gat*
Extraction, (call it which you pleaſe) as well
the People They ſubdued. They came out of
ſame *northern Hive*; and therefore they natura
reſumed the *Spirit* of their Anceſtors, when t
came into a Country, where it prevail'd.

Stephen, the fourth King of this Race, ow
his Crown to the good Will of the Nation; a
he owed this good Will to the Conceſſions he m
in Favour of *Liberty*.

John came to the Crown, after the Death
his Father *Henry* II. and his Brother *Richard*

* We have thought fit to explain the Expreſſion,
this Place, though we know the Word *Celtick*, as w
as *Scythian*, hath been uſed in the ſame large and ge
ral Senſe, which is made uſe of here: and We co
ſhew (if ſuch a Trifle deſerved it) that by the *Cel*
Antiquity did not always underſtand the People inh
biting a part of *Gaul*, notwithſtanding the Quotatio
out of *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, &c. which have been urge
by way of Cavil againſt us.

the Election of the People. His *Electors* in-
d, found themſelves deceived in their Expec-
ons; for he governed in the moſt extravagant
nner. But they ſoon made him feel whoſe
ature he was. The Conteſts between the Laity
an ambitious uſurping Clergy ran very high
his Time. *John* had made his Advantage of
ſe Diviſions. But the *Spirit of Liberty* pre-
l'd, and that of *Faction* vaniſh'd before it. Men
w aſhamed of being the Tools of *private Am-*
on, when *publick Safety* was at Stake. Thoſe
he *high Church*, and Thoſe of the *low Church*,
ted in one common Cauſe. The King bluſter'd
l drew out his Army; but it was a *Britiſh* Ar-
. No Wonder therefore, if the King ſubmit-
, and *Magna Charta* was ſign'd.

It was ſign'd again by his Son and Succeſſor,
nry III. in full Parliament, and with the greateſt
emnity. The People however abated nothing
their *jealous*, *watchful Spirit*; and it was well
Liberty they did not. The long Reign of this
ince was one continual Struggle between *Him*
d *Them*. The Iſſue of this Struggle was favour-
le to the *latter*. By exerting their Strength,
ey encreaſed it under *Henry* III. They loſt no
round under *Edward* I. and they gain'd a great
al under *Edward* II.

Thus was the preſent Conſtitution of our Go-
rnment forming itſelf for about two Centuries
d an half; a rough Building raiſed out of the
emolitions, which the *Normans* had made, and
on the ſolid Foundations laid by the *Saxons*.
he whole Fabrick was cemented by the Blood of
ur Fathers; for the *Britiſh Liberties* are not the
rants of Princes. They are *original Rights*, Con-
tions of *original Contracts*, coæqual with *Prero-*
gative,

gative, and coæval with our *Government*. As fu
in the Days we ſpeak of, they were claim'd;
ſuch they were aſſerted by Force of Arms;
ſuch they were acknowledged; and as ſuch th
were conſtantly maintain'd afterwards by that
tinacious Spirit, which no Difficulties nor Dan
could diſcourage, nor any Authority abate;
even That of the *Pope*, as impudently as it w
exerciſed, and as fooliſhly as it was revered,
thoſe ſuperſtitious Ages.

Had *this Spirit* relax'd in the Courſe of ſo m
ny Years, our Government muſt have ſettle
an *abſolute Monarchy*, or *tyrannical Ariſtocracy*.

The *Norman Kings*, of imperious Temp
aſſumed great Power. The *Barons* did the ſa
The *People* groan'd under the Oppreſſion of *B*
This Union was unnatural and could not l
The *Barons*, enjoying a Sort of *feudatory Sovereig*
were often Partners, and ſometimes Rivals of t
Kings. They had oppoſite Intereſts, and they ſo
claſh'd.

Thus was the Opportunity created of re-eſt
bliſhing a more equal free Government th
That, which had prevail'd after the *Norman I*
vaſion.

The *Kings*, the *Barons*, and the *Clergy*, not le
ambitious or avaricious than either of the other
had powerful Means of promoting their Uſurp
tions. The Commonalty had little, or no Sha
in the Legiſlature; made no Figure in the G
vernment; and it is hard to conceive how th
could act, as the others might, and certainly di
by particular Concerts, to the Advancement
their particular Intereſts.

All theſe Diſadvantages were ſupply'd by th
Spirit of Liberty, which diffuſed itſelf through th
whi

hole Maſs. Numbers were on the Side of the *mmons*. In all Diſputes therefore it was neceſ-y to apply to Them. They made the proper ſe of ſuch Conjunctures. Whoever loſt, they ere ſure to be Gainers; for ſo they deem'd them-ves, when they ſuffer'd all the Hardſhips of ar, and even laid down their Lives in the Quar-, if they left *Liberty* more more improved and tter ſecured to their Poſterity.

By Conceſſions to the *Commons*, our *Kings* aintained and extended their Prerogatives over e *Barons*. By eſpouſing the national Intereſt, e *Barons* continued able to cope with the *Crown*, l they broke among themſelves. Nay, even e *Church*, notwithſtanding that antient and ſe Alliance between *ſecular* and *eccleſiaſtical Ty-ny*, was forced, on ſome few Occaſions, to be a iend to the Liberties of the *People*.

The *King*, the *Barons* and the *Clergy* were all, reality, Enemies to *publick Liberty*. Their rties were ſo many *Factions* in the Nation; yet y all help'd, in their Turns, to eſtabliſh *Li-ty*.

So true it is, that every Thing, even the Vices Mankind, and the Misfortunes of a Country, ll turn to the Advantage of *Liberty*, where the irit of it is maintain'd in Vigour; as every hing, even the good Qualities of Mankind, and e Proſperity of a Country, may operate a con-ary Effect, where this *Spirit* is ſuffer'd to de-ine.

As loſing the *Spirit of Liberty* loſt the *Liberties Rome*, even while the Laws and Conſtitutions, ade for the Preſervation of them, remain'd en-re; ſo we ſee that our Anceſtors, by keeping *Spirit* alive and warm, regain'd all the Advan-

tages of a free Government, though a *foreign Invaſion* had deſtroy'd them, in great Meaſure, and had impoſed a very tyrannical Yoke on the Nation.

LETTER V.

WE are now come to the Reign of *Edward* the *third*. We muſt deſire our Readers to ſtop here, and at the Reign of his Succeſſor, a little; ſince no Reigns can furniſh us with more memorable and pertinent Examples, to ſhew how the *Spirit of Liberty* exerts itſelf in Favour of *good Princes*; how ſlow it is to act even againſt the *worſt*; and yet how effectually it is able to act even in the moſt *deſperate Caſes*.

Old *Froiſſart* * ſays, that the *Engliſh* had an Opinion, grounded on Obſervations made from the Days of good King *Arthur*, that between two *valiant* and *able Princes* in this Nation, there always intervenes a King *moins ſuffiſant de Sens & de Proueſſe*; *of leſs Senſe and Courage*. I ſhall not warrant the exact Truth of this Obſervation. The Proportion, I fear, is much greater on the *worſt Side* in all Kingdoms. But certainly *Edward* III. whoſe Story gave Occaſion to *Froiſſart* to broach this Anecdote, ſtands between his Father *Edward* II. and his Grandſon *Richard* II. a bright Inſtance of this Truth, *That great and good Princes are Favourers of* Liberty, *and find their Account in promoting the* Spirit *of it*; *whilſt the weakeſt and the worſt Princes chiefly affect* abſolute Power,

* *Vol.* 1. C. 2.

d often meet with the Fate they deſerve for ſuch ttempts.

The *former* know that they have nothing to pprehend from *this Spirit*; and They wiſely pre- r the generous Efforts of *good Will* and *Affection* o the reluctant Compliances of ſuch as obey by *orce.*

The *latter*, conſcious that they are unable to *ad*, endeavour to *drive* their People. Unworthy o be *Kings*, They ſtruggle to be *Tyrants.*

Few were the Blemiſhes, which may be thought o tarniſh the Luſtre of this Reign of *Edward he third.* Few and ſhort were the Struggles be- ween *Him* and his *People*; for as he was fierce nd terrible to his *Enemies*, He was amiable and ndulgent to his *Subjects.* He not only obſerved he *Laws*, but He made the *Senſe of the Nation*, in ome Meaſure, a *Law* to Him. On this Princi- le, (in which, to a conſidering Mind, there will ppear as much Wiſdom as Goodneſs) he removed *Son*, nay a *favourite Miſtreſs* from Court.

Henry IV. if I miſtake not, did ſomething of he ſame Kind; and which of their Succeſſors, fter ſuch Examples, could preſume to think it elow his Dignity to conſult the *Inclination of is People*, and make *Them* the Rule of his Con- luct?

Under this *great Prince*, the Conſtitution of our *Parliaments*, and the whole Frame of our *Govern- ment*, became reduced into a better Form. A *Spirit of Liberty* breathes in the *Laws* of this glo- rious King; and the Power and Duty of *Parlia- ments* are ſet forth, in ſome of them, with ſuch Terms as would never have been paſs'd by a *Prince*, who had put the leaſt Pedantry, or the leaſt Foppery into his Notions of Kingſhip.

The *Spirit of Liberty* was not idle in this Reign, though it had little, or no Occaſion of Exerciſe againſt the Crown. The Uſurpations of the Church were many and grievous. They had been long murmur'd againſt; but a falſe Reſpect for *Religion* had hitherto maintain'd them. This Deluſion began now to be removed. WICKLIFFE aroſe to diſpel this magick Charm; to undraw the Veil of this pretended Sanctuary; and to expoſe the Horrors and Trifles, which lurk'd behind it, to publick View, Indignation and Contempt. The *Axe* was now firſt aim'd at the *Root of Popery*; and *Prelates* were taught the firſt Leſſons of Moderation. *Parliaments* ſate and proceeded on Buſineſs, even on *eccleſiaſtical Buſineſs*, without the Intervention of *Mitres*. There was, I believe, one *Parliament* held, to which few, or none of the *Prelates* were ſummon'd; in order, perhaps, to teach them how little *their Concurrence* was eſſential to give due Weight to the *Counſels*, or full Authority to the *Acts of Parliament*.

As *this Prince* loved, inſtead of hating, as He encouraged, inſtead of diſcountenancing, the *Spirit of Liberty* in his People; ſo he was ſtrengthen'd and ſuported by it in ſuch a Manner, and in ſuch Circumſtances, as cannot be parallel'd.

The Nation had been miſerably harraſs'd by *civil Wars* and *Oppreſſions* of various Kinds, when he came to the Crown. The Burthen of *perſonal Service*, and the *Taxes* raiſed to defend the Dominions, which his Predeceſſors held on the Continent, had exhauſted all Degrees of People. This Miſchief was ſo much reſented by them, that *foreign Intereſt* and *foreign Counſels* may be juſtly reckon'd among the principal Cauſes of all the Diſputes,

putes, and even Wars, between *Them* and their *former Kings*.

In this Situation and in this Temper of Mind was the Nation, when *Edward* the *third*, by laying Claim to the Crown, and undertaking the Conqueſt of *France*, open'd to his Subjects the terrible Proſpect of being worſe than ever oppreſs'd by the *ſame Grievances*; and yet his *Nobility* and *Commonalty* ſeconded him in all theſe Enterprizes, with fewer Complaints than could have been expected. Theſe Men, ſo apt to complain of *Grievances*, and ſo little patient under them, carry'd him triumphantly through all his Wars abroad, though they ſtruggled with *Want*, *Peſtilence* and *Famine* at home.

What Principle produced this wonderful Change? Did higher Notions of *Prerogative* prevail? Had the Doctrines of a *ſlaviſh Submiſſion* at once poſſeſs'd our Anceſtors? By no Means. It was not the Power, it was not the Authority of the *King*, which forced; but it was the Character of the *Man*, which invited to theſe Compliances. The *Spirit of Liberty* exerted itſelf in Favour of the *Patron of Liberty*.

A *corrupt Parliament*, a *degenerate Nobility*, a *ſervile Commonalty*, will ſacrifice any Thing to any Prince; to a *Richard* the *ſecond*, or an *Edward* the *third*, equally and indiſcriminately. But a free, a generous, a virtuous People (ſuch as we may boaſt our Anceſtors were in thoſe Days) will ſacrifice every Thing, except *Liberty*, to a Prince like *Edward* III. and *Liberty* is a Sacrifice, which a Prince, like *Him*, will never require at their Hands. To *Him*, who would require it, They would ſacrifice nothing. Such a *People* may be *well governed* with Eaſe; and it ought to be hard

to *govern them ill.* They will do more for a Prince whom they *love* and *eſteem*, than he has a *Right* to expect from them. If they do *leſs* for a Prince whom they *deſpiſe* or *hate*, they are ſurely very excuſable.

In order to render this Example ſtill ſtronger and more uſeful, it may be proper to point out, beſides his general Character, ſome of thoſe Particulars in the Conduct of *Edward* III. which probably induced his *People* to ſacrifice their Eſtates, and their Lives too, ſo chearfully in a *Cauſe*, to which under *other Princes*, they had been ſo averſe.

In the *firſt Place*, as his Father *Edward* II. loſt his Crown and his Life, in the moſt miſerable Manner, by ſuffering Himſelf to be governed by his *Miniſters*, and protecting them from the Reſentments of the People; ſo his *Son* very early exerted his own Authority, and freed Himſelf from the Guardianſhip, or rather Subjection, of the *Queen* and *Mortimer*, who had long oppreſſed the Nation, and diſhonoured the young King by their ſcandalous Conduct.

The next Reaſon ſeems to have been This: though he was magnificent in his Court; yet he limited, with great Care, the Exactions of his *Purveyors*; kept a ſevere Hand over them; and ſuffered no more to be levyed on his People, than what the neceſſary Expence of his *Houſhold* required. He ſaved for his *People*, not for *Himſelf.*

Thirdly; the *Taxes*, laid in his Time, were laid for *viſible* and *important Services*, wherein the *Honour* at leaſt of the Nation was concerned; which every Man knew and approved.

Fourthly; the *Expences* were leſſened by that *double Oeconomy*, which is ſo rarely found, or even underſtood. I mean not only that *inferior Oeco-*

nomy,

nomy, which conſiſts in the Management of the Receipts and Iſſues of the *publick Revenue*; but that *ſuperior Oeconomy*, which conſiſts in contriving the great Schemes of *Negotiation* and *Action*. When the Talents for *this Oeconomy* are wanting in *Thoſe*, who govern, the Publick pays for their *Want of Genius*; and the *Prince*'s, or *Miniſter*'s *Errors* are ſo many additional Taxes on the *People*. When theſe Talents are not wanting, the very Reverſe happens. The Genius of the *Prince*, or *Miniſter*, comes in Aid of the *publick Charge*. Much is ſaved; and *Art* and *Management* ſupply it all.

Edward III. began his War againſt *France*, in Conjunction with *German* Allies. He ſaw no better Expedient at that Time. But as ſoon as Fortune and Intrigue had procured it for him, He took another, ſhorter, cheaper, and more effectual Method. He ſupported the Earl of *Monfort*, Competitor with *Charles* of *Blois*, for the Dutchy of *Brittany*. *Avecques les* Allemans, *& les* Brabancons (ſays *Froiſſart*) *il n'avoit riens fait, ſors deſpendre groſſement*; *& l'avoit mene & demene les Siegneurs de* l'Empire, *qui avoient prient ſon* Or *& ſon* Argent, *ainſy qu'ills avoient voulu, & riens fait. Si deſcendit a la Requeſte du Comte joyeuſement*, &c. That is, *with the* Germans *and the* Brabancons, *all he had been able to do was to ſpend great Sums of Money. The Princes of the* Empire, *who had taken as much as they would of his Gold and his Silver, and had done nothing for it, were accuſtom'd to amuſe him, and to tire him out. He condeſcended therefore to the Requeſt of the* Earl *very joyfully.*

Fifthly; it was not owing to his *Succeſs* that the People had a good Opinion of his Enterprizes, and promiſed themſelves an happy Iſſue, how difficult, or dangerous ſoever theſe Enterprizes might ap-

pear. Their Confidence was placed, and re juſtly, in thoſe *Qualities*, and that *Tenor of Conduct* which they obſerved in their *King*; and to whic his *prodigious Succeſs* was owing. No Man co trived, prepared, reſolved with more Phlegm; a acted with greater Fire; the Reverſe of his Su ceſſor, who reſolved raſhly, and executed irreſolut ly. He waited ſometimes for Opportunities; but always improved them, when they happened; an thoſe *Accidents*, which govern, or dictate the Me ſures, and perpetually ſhift the fluctuating Scheme of *weak Governments*, were bent, by this gre *Prince*, to ſerve the *wiſeſt* and moſt *ſteady Pur poſes*.

Sixthly; if he drained away ſome of the nation Wealth by *Taxes*, He reſtored it very amply again by the great Care he took of extending and im proving *Trade*; by which he opened new Mine of Treaſure; and, for a few temporary Contribu tions, enriched his People to future Generations. A *Prince*, who adds to the *national Stock*, has Right to ſhare the Advantage he procures, an may demand *Supplies* from his People, without bluſhing. But a *Prince*, who lives a *Rent-Charge* on the Nation he governs; who ſits on his Throne like a monſtrous *Drone* in the Middle of an *Hive*, draining all the Combs of their Honey, and neither making, nor aſſiſting the *induſtrious Bees* to make any; ſuch a *Prince*, I ſay, ought to bluſh at every Grant he receives from a *People*, who never received any Benefit from *Him*. The Duke of *Glouceſter* told *Richard the ſecond*, on his reſtoring *Breſt* to the Duke of *Brittany*, that he ſhould have taken a Town by his *own Valour* and *Conduct*, before he reſigned what his *Anceſtors* had left him.

Much

Much to the ſame Purpoſe might an *oppreſs'd People* juſtly anſwer a *craving Prince*. When you have increaſed the *Riches*, and advanced the *Proſperity* of the Nation, you will have ſome Right to make *theſe Demands* upon us; but till then we ſhall think that you have none.

LETTER VI.

THE glorious Scene of Government, which diſplay'd itſelf, in the Reign of *Edward the third*, was ſtrangely alter'd on the Succeſſion of *Richard the ſecond*; a violent, haughty, obſtinate and weak Prince; whoſe Reign, as one of our Hiſtorians obſerves, *affords but little Matter that may ſhine in Hiſtory; and cannot boaſt of any one great and diſtinguiſh'd Captain; any one memorable Battle, or important Siege; but Prorogations of Truces, Abſtinences, Sufferances, Patiences, Tolerances, were the Language and Amuſement of the Times; and* Treaties *were all the while kept on Foot for a perpetual Peace; Treaties*, ſays He, *hitherto fruitleſs, illuſory and impracticable.*

It muſt be confeſs'd that the Reigns of Government hung pretty looſe in the Hands of *Edward* III. towards the latter End of his Reign; from whence proceeded the Growth of thoſe *Factions*, which diſturb'd the Beginning of his *Grandſon's*

* *Mr.* Francklin *was taken up for printing this Paper, and the preceding one on the Reign of* Edward the third; *but no farther Proſecution hath been yet commenced againſt Him on that Account.*

Reign. Some Part of This was owing, v probably, to the Abuſe of *Wickliffe*'s Doctrine more to the cruel Treatment, which the infer Part of the *Commonalty* received. The *Lords* g Tyrants, and the *Commons* Rebels. But th Commotions were ſoon ſuppreſs'd by the uni Force of the reſt of the Nation; much ſoon and with Concequences leſs fatal, than in ot Countries, where *Rebellion* and *popular Inſurrec ons* ſeem to have been the epidemical Diſtemp of that Age.

If the *Spirit of Faction* was ſoon quell'd amo the *Commons*, it prevail'd openly, ſcandalouſ and dangerouſly in the *Court*. Something of might be diſcern'd, perhaps, among the *Lor who oppoſed the Court*; even in the Duke of *Gl ceſter*, the Favourite of the People; in the Du of *Lancaſter*, a wiſe Prince, and who acted h the moderating Part; in *Arundel*, and *others*. N thing of it was to be obſerved in the general Pr ceedings of *Parliament*, and in the *national Co duct*.

The Juſtneſs of the Character, given befor *Richard the ſecond*, diſcovered itſelf very early i his Actions. He had a *Brutality*, and a *good Op nion of himſelf*; *one* of which might have betray him into a Diſcovery of what it was his Inter to conceal, if the *other* had not made him capab of doing it, even on Reflection. Hence ca thoſe famous and fooliſh Sayings of this Prince which Hiſtory has preſerved, and which gave h People timely Warning what they had to expe from him. Of his *Commons* He ſaid, *That* SLAVE *they were, and* SLAVES *they ſhould be*. Upon Addreſs from *Parliament* to remove his *Chancell* and *Treaſurer*, his Anſwer was, *That he would n*

remo

emove, *at* their Requeſt, *the meaneſt Scullion out of his Kitchen.*

However, He found Men, as all *Princes* may eaſily do, who flattered him in his *Vices* and *Follies*; ſuch Men, for Inſtance, as *Nevil*, *Vere*, *Poole*, *Treſſilian*, and others; who, to faſten Him to *themſelves*, made the *Nation* odious to Him; as They made Him odious to the *Nation*, by their Rapine, their Inſolence, and by a weak Adminiſtration; which expoſed the Kingdom to be invaded by the *Scots*, and threatened and inſulted by the *French*.

During all this Time, *Parliaments* met frequently, and gave *neceſſary Supplies*; *ſome Grievances* They redreſſed; but bore the Mal-Adminiſtration of the *Court Faction* till the tenth Year of his King; when they proſecuted the *Favourites* with great Juſtice; with Temper, and yet with Vigour. They ſpared nothing to provide for the Defence of the Kingdom by *Sea* and *Land*; and having put the Adminiſtration, for a Time, into the Hands of Perſons choſen by *Themſelves*, gave the *King* ſuch a Warning, as might have taught Him to abandon a *Faction*, and to throw himſelf on his *People*; but it proved in vain. His *favourite Miniſters* perſuaded him, *that* They *ſuffered for* his Sake; *that the Aim of their Enemies was to deprive* Him, *by diſgracing* Them; and whilſt all the Troubles of his Reign were due to his Support of *Them*, they made Him believe that they ſuffered for executing *his Orders*, and maintaining *his Authority*. —— Nay, They repreſented to Him that, by *accuſing the* Counſellors, *a Man plainly ſhews, that He believes the* Sovereign *incapable of governing*; *and that the readieſt Way to diſcredit a* Prince, *is perſuading his Subjects, that He makes Uſe*

of

of ill Miniſters. —— Theſe Arguments and Artifices, ridiculous as they ſeem, ſucceeded and had their Effects for ſome Time longer.

The *deluded King* entered into a cloſer Conjunction than ever with his *Miniſters*. He took their Iniquities on Himſelf; made their Cauſe his own, was privy to their Plots of poiſoning their Enemies; of packing Juries; of corrupting the Judges to give Opinions againſt Law; and to all the dirty Work, which *They* wanted, not *He*. Nay, by his Encouragement, They raiſed Troops; and a Battle was fought in *their Quarrel*; but They were defeated; and the *fourteenth Parliament*, called the *Wonder-working Parliament*, having puniſhed the *Judges* and *Miniſters* with proper Severity, endeavoured to reconcile the King and and his People. They gave him *great Subſidies, and renewed their Homage and Fealty* to Him.

Even all This ſtill proved in vain. No Experience was ſufficient to reclaim *Richard the ſecond*. He governed tyrannically at home, and took a *Wife* and bought a *Peace* from *France*. It is remarkable, that the *Peace* coſt him 400,000 *l.* much more than he got by by his *Wife*. His *favourite Miniſters* had, before this Time, endeavour'd to perſuade him to give up *Calais*, and purchaſe the Friendſhip of *France* to aſſiſt him againſt the *Lords* and *others*, who oppoſed him. This is not the laſt, nor leaſt, Inſtance of conducting *foreign Affairs* purely with Regard to the Intereſt of *Miniſters*, and without any to the Honour and Intereſt of the *Nation*.

The *Factions* among the great Men were of double Advantage to the King for a Time.

Firſt, the Body of the People, who ſhewed themſelves ſufficiently animated with a *Spirit of Liberty*,

berty, grew cool in eſpouſing the Quarrels of the *rds*, after they thought *Liberty* ſecured by the oceedings of *Parliament*, in the tenth Year of is King; and though many particular Actions Violence, of Treachery, and of Cruelty were mmitted by *Richard the ſecond*, They bore all ith the greateſt Patience for ſeveral Years.

In the *next Place*, theſe *Factions* among the great len enabled the King to divide them; to play e againſt the other; and to build up his Tyran- on the Ruins of both. His Uncle, the Duke *Glouceſter*, was baſely betrayed and barbarouſly urdered by Him. He procured a *packed Parlia- ent, conſiſting of Men impoſed on the Shires and owns by the King's Authority, wholly managed by ourt Favourites, and which bent all its Endeavours deſtroy the Liberties and Privileges of the People.* Vith the Help of *ſuch a Parliament*, He wreaked engeance on *Thoſe*, who had oppoſed him; got is Authority exalted above all Law, and exerciſed moſt cruel Tyranny.

The People ſtill bore; and it is probable that e *King*, and others as well as He, imagined that ey would be obliged to bear on; ſince the *whole egiſlature* united in their Oppreſſion. But in his He was deceived. When the *Parliament* ook the Part of the *People*, the *People* followed e Motions of *Parliament*. When They had no lopes from *Parliament*, They follow'd the firſt tandard, which was ſet up againſt the *King*. The ame *Spirit of Liberty*, which had been ſo ſlow to ct under ſo many Provocations, acted with the reateſt Vigour, when it was leaſt expected. The King, at the Head of an Army in *Ireland*, the Duke of *York* at the Head of another in *England*, nd the Earl of *Salisbury* at the Head of a third, could

could do the *King* no Service. The Armies would not fight for the *King* againſt their *Country*. The whole Nation abandoned Him, or acted againſt Him. Some of his *Miniſters* were hang'd; particularly Thoſe, who had been the great Inſtruments of taxing and oppreſſing the *People*. He was, at length, forced to *reſign*, and to ſubſcribe an *Inſtrument* with his own Hand, by which He confeſſed Himſelf *unworthy* to govern the Kingdom any longer. This *Inſtrument of Reſignation* was not only unanimouſly approved of in Parliament, but *Articles of Accuſation* were ordered to be drawn up againſt Him, to juſtify their Reſolution of *depoſing* Him. Theſe *Articles* were thirty-five in Number, ſetting forth the Particulars of his *Miſgovernment*; two of which are to this Effect;

That He had put the Adminiſtration of the publick Affairs in the Hands of unexperienced *and* ill-deſigning Perſons, *to the great Damage of the* People, *who were loaded with* exceſſive Taxes;

That, in his Negotiations *with foreign Princes He had made Uſe of ſo many* Equivocations *and* Sophiſtries, *that none would take his Word any more.*

It is very obſervable that theſe Extremities fell upon *Richard the ſecond*, at a Time, when every Thing ſeemed to contribute to his Support, in the Exerciſe of that *arbitrary Power*, which He had aſſumed. *Thoſe*, whom He had moſt Reaſon to fear, were removed either by *violent Death*, or *Baniſhment*; and others were ſecured in his Intereſt by *Places*, or *Favours* at Court. The *great Offices of the Crown*, and the *Magiſtracy of the whole Kingdom*, were put into ſuch Hands, as were fit for his Deſigns; beſides which, He had a *Parliament* entirely at his Devotion; but all theſe advantageous Circumſtances ſerved only to prove that

hat a Prince can have no real Security againſt he juſt Reſentments of an injured and exaſperated lation; for, as *Rapin* obſerves upon the ſad ataſtrophe of this Reign and That of *Edward* ; *In ſuch Governments as That of* England, *all ndeavours uſed by the* King *to make Himſelf* abſo- te *are but ſo many Steps towards his own Downfal.* It is farther obſerved, by another eminent Writer upon *this Reign*, (which He juſtly calls *Reign of Favourites*) *That the King, in his* Diſtreſs, *aw Himſelf forſaken by* Thoſe, *whom He ſhould have rſaken before*; the very Men, *who had ſo much attered Him with their* exceſſive Love *and* Loyalty; *nd, like thoſe mean Inſects, which live with a little Varmth, but ſhrink at any Change of Weather,* hey, *who had contributed to all his Errors in his* roſperity, *tranſplanted their Zeal into the* new Sun- hine, *as ſoon as his* Succeſſor *demanded the Crown.*

LETTER VII.

FROM the Reigns of *Edward the third*, and *Richard the ſecond*, we ſhall haſten downwards, s faſt as ſome neceſſary Obſervations will permit. Thoſe of the Princes of *York* and *Lancaſter* form Period of more than eighty Years, which paſs'd n *foreign* and *civil Wars*; in frequent *Revolutions* of Government, and in all thoſe Diſorders, which ſually accompany and follow ſuch *Revolutions.*

The Party of *Richard the ſecond*, even after the Death of that unhappy Prince, broke out into pen Rebellion againſt *Henry the fourth*, but their Efforts were vain. He held the Crown faſt, which the *Parliament* had given him; and the chief

chief of his Oppoſers periſhed in their Attem
Happy had it been, if they alone had ſuffered;
here we muſt obſerve a neceſſary and cruel Con
quence of *Faction*. As it oppreſſeth the wh
Community, if it *ſucceeds*; ſo it often draws
preſſion, not on itſelf alone, but on the wh
Community, when it *fails*. The Attempts
dethrone *Henry the fourth*, juſtified him, no Dou
in ſupporting himſelf by a *military Force*. Th
excuſed him, likewiſe, very probably, in
Minds of many, for governing with a *ſevere Han*
for doing ſeveral *illegal* and *tyrannical Actions*;
invading the Privileges of *Parliament*; at le
in the Point of *Elections*; and for obtaining,
theſe Means, *frequent* and *heavy Taxes* on the Pe
ple; for as all This might appear the harder, b
cauſe it happened in the Reign of a *King*, wh
had no Title to his Crown but the *good Will of*
People, and the free *Gift of Parliament*; ſo it mig
appear, on the other Hand, the leſs grievous, becau
ſome Part of it was rendered neceſſary by the Op
poſition, which a *Faction* made to a *parliamentary*
Eſtabliſhment; and becauſe the reſt of it was repr
ſented, perhaps, under that Umbrage, to be ſo like
wiſe, by the *Court Logick* of that Age.

A People may be perſuaded to bear patiently
great deal of Oppreſſion, as long as they can b
perſuaded that they bear it only to defend the
own Choice, and to maintain their *own Acts*; bu
if they diſcover This to be nothing more than
Pretence, by which *ſuch Powers* are kept up as ar
unneceſſary to their Security, and dangerous
to their *Liberty*; by which the Wealth of th
whole Nation is drained into the Coffers of a *few*;
and by which, in one Word, they become expoſe
to *Ruin* by the very *Means*, which they took
avoi

bid it; it cannot be expected that they will be ient very long.

It deſerves particular Notice, that although *Henry fourth* was willing to ſhew his Clemency, at Beginning of his Reign, by inflicting a very ght Puniſhment on the *wicked* and *hated Miniſters* the late King; yet it being alledged in their cuſe, *That* Richard *had compelled them to act, the rliament took Occaſion from thence to paſs an* Act, *which it was declared that, for the future,* Comlſion *ſhould be no legal Excuſe to juſtify Actions, trary to Law.* The Reaſonableneſs and Exdiency of *this Act* are very manifeſt; for it is e indiſpenſable Duty of a *good Miniſter* to diſſuade s Maſter from all *illegal Meaſures*; or, if He nnot prevail, to quit his Service, rather than ffer Himſelf to be made the Inſtrument of Them; d if the *Commands of the Prince* were to be alwed a *ſufficient Juſtification*, the Prerogative of *ing no Wrong* would be extended to *Miniſters*, d Nobody would be left accountable for *Maldminiſtration.*

In the ſhort, but triumphant, Reign of *Henry e fifth*, the *Spirit of Faction* was awed; and the *irit of Liberty* had no Occaſion of exerting itlf; at leaſt, with Struggle, and in any ſignal Manner, under a Prince juſt, moderate and pious, ccording to the Religion of thoſe Times.

The Reign of his *Son* was the Reign of *Faction*; nd it diſcloſes an horrid Scene of *Iniquity, Folly, Madneſs.* The ſcandalous Management of *publick Affairs*, which brought infinite Loſs and Diſhoour to the Nation, gave real Occaſion, as well as retence, to Commotions and Inſurrections. The ontemptible Character of the Man, who ſate on he Throne, revived the Hopes of the Faction of *York.*

York. The Faction of *Lancaſter* took the Al
Moſt of the great and active Men were atta
to one Side, or to the other, by Obligation,
Reſentment, by Hopes, or by Fears. The *nat*
Intereſt was ſunk, to the Shame of the Na
in the particular Intereſt of *two Families.*

In the *civil Wars*, which happen'd a Cen
and an half, or two Centuries before this Tr
the Point in Diſpute was *how* the People ſhou
governed. In *Theſe* we are ſpeaking of, the P
in Diſpute was *who* ſhould govern. The
was worth contending for, and deſerved all
Blood, which was ſhed in the Quarrel. But T
cannot be ſaid of the *laſt*, which ought alwa
to be looked upon with great Indifference; ex
in Caſes, where it has ſo immediate and neceſ
a Relation to the *firſt*, that ſecuring the *firſt*
pends, in a great Meaſure, on ſettling the
Such Caſes have happened; and particular Inſt
ces may be eaſily found; but the contrary Ca
where Men have fought for *Governors*, without
gard to *Government*, are eaſy to be found likewi
and That was plainly the Caſe of the two Facti
of *York* and *Lancaſter*.

The *Parliaments*, in thoſe Days, ſeemed to
in another Temper; very little concern'd w
was King, and very much to preſerve the *Conſti*
tion. In the many *Revolutions*, which happen
each Side would have the *Parliament* for the
Whatever *Titles* They ſet up, They were glad
hold the Crown by the Grant, or by the Confir
mation of *Parliament.* The *Parliament* will
complied, whoever prevailed. The Chance
War determined *who* ſhould be King; at o
Time *Henry the ſixth*, at another *Edward the four*

the *Parliament* accordingly placed Them on Throne, and ſettled their Government.

There is another Obſervation, which ought to made, before we leave this Period of Time. e Reigns of *Richard the ſecond*, and *Henry the rth*, had ſhewn the dangerous Conſequences of t *Influence*, which the *Crown* had obtain'd in *Elections of Members of Parliament.* The tchful *Spirit of Liberty* was ſoon alarm'd, and vail'd to make ſuch Regulations about *Elections*, d about the Qualifications of the *Electors* and *Elected*, as ſeem'd at that Time, ſufficient to vent this Influence for the future. Theſe *Relations* appear in ſeveral Laws, made during the igns of the *three Lancaſtrian Princes*; and our *ections* proceed, in a great Meaſure, upon them this very Day. Theſe *Regulations* have re-ired, and muſt, in the Nature of Things, re-ire to be alter'd, as the Courſe of *Accidents*, or e Change of *national Circumſtances* ſhall ſuggeſt aſons for ſo doing. But then ſuch *Alterations* ve been, and ought always to be contrived ſo to adapt them better, and to enforce them more ongly; becauſe the *Principle*, on which they e founded, can never vary, and is ſo eſſential the Preſervation of *Liberty*, that if it be loſt, d if a Practice in Oppoſition to it ſhould ever evail, the *Ballance* of our Government would e that Moment loſt, and the *Britiſh Conſtitution* ft at the Mercy of any *ambitious Prince*, or *icked Miniſter.*

For this Reaſon, Mr. *Rapin* obſerves very juſtly, *hat there are but two Ways of depriving the* Engliſh *f their Liberties*; *either by* laying aſide *Parliaments*, bribing *Them*; and, in another Place, He ſays, *hat the* Engliſh Freedom *will be at an End, whenever*

ever the Court *invades the* free Election *of P*
ments.

It is neceſſary to inſiſt upon this Obſervati
little; becauſe it hath been ridiculed, th
dully, and great Pains have been taken to ex
the Doctrine contain'd in it; which was
down in theſe Words. *In a Conſtitution like*
the Safety of the Whole depends on the Ballan
the Parts; and the Ballance *of the Parts on*
mutual Independency *on each other.* Theſe W
it ſeems, even with Thoſe of *Thuanus* to ex
them, convey no Idea to the *London Journ*
but this will be found, as I apprehend, to b
Fault, or his *Defect*; not *Oldcaſtle*'s. A
born without the Senſe of Hearing, or ſtop
his Ears, and determined at any Rate not to
may be deaf to the Voice of *Stentor* himſelf.

I ſhall not enter into any Altercations wit
London Journaliſt, nor go out of the Road to
the Honour of ſuch Company. But when I
Him in my Way, I ſhall encounter him frank
without the leaſt Fear of being cruſh'd by
Weight of his *Arguments*; or, which is more,
the Power of his *Patron.*

To ſay, like *this Author*, that the *carryi*
of Buſineſs, and maintaining Government by P
ers abſolutely diſtinct, and abſolutely independent,
meer Utopian *Scheme*, muſt proceed from Ig
rance, or Folly. Have not Powers, *abſolutely*
ſtinct and *independent*, been joined by federal
nions? Are no ſuch Examples to be found, e
at this Day? Has not This been brought ab
by the very Reaſon given to prove that it can
ver happen; becauſe Men *agree* when they
Reaſon for Agreement; and they *ſee Reaſon for*
greement, when they ſee their *Intereſt in agreei*

ne could not be in earneſt, when he let ſuch
fall from his Pen. He meant to elude the
nent, and to perplex his Readers, or he
t nothing. But This ſhall not paſs. The
er is too important. He ſhall be talk'd to,
deſires, without a *Metaphor*; and what has
advanced ſhall be applied to our Govern-
.

King of *Great Britain* is that ſupreme Ma-
te, who has a *negative Voice* in the *Legiſlature*.
s entruſted with the *executive Power*; and ſe-
other Powers and Privileges, which we call
gatives, are annex'd to this Truſt. The
Houſes of *Parliament* have their Rights and
leges; ſome of which are common to *both*;
s particular to *each*. They prepare, they paſs
, or they refuſe to paſs ſuch as are ſent to them.
y addreſs, repreſent, adviſe, remonſtrate.
ſupreme Judicature reſides in the *Lords*. The
mons are the *grand Inqueſt* of the Nation; and
hem it belongs likewiſe to judge of *national Ex-*
s, and to give *Supplies* accordingly.
the *legiſlative*, as well as the *executive Power*,
wholly in the *King*, as in ſome Countries,
would be *abſolute*; if in the *Lords*, our Govern-
t would be an *Ariſtocracy*; if in the *Commons*,
emocracy. It is this *Diviſion of Power*, theſe
nct Privileges attributed to the *King*, to the
ds, and to the *Commons*, which conſtitute a
ted Monarchy.
Again; as they conſtitute a *limited Mouarchy*,
he Wiſdom of our Government has provided,
ar as human Wiſdom can provide, for the Pre-
vation of it, by this *Diviſion of Power*, and by
ſe *diſtinct Privileges*. If any *one Part* of the
ee, which compoſe our Government, ſhould,
at

at any Time, uſurp more Power than the L
gives, or make an ill Uſe of a *legal Power*,
other *two Parts* may, by uniting their Stren
reduce this Power into its proper Bounds, or
rect the Abuſe of it; nay, if at any Time tw
theſe Parts ſhould concur in uſurping, or abu
Power, the Weight of the *third* may, at leaſt,
tard the Miſchief, and give Time and Chance
preventing it.

This is that *Ballance*, which has been ſo m
talk'd of; and This is the Uſe of it. Both
plain to common Senſe, and to Experience;
will appear farther in the Courſe of theſe Rema
where we ſhall have Occaſion to ſhew how
the proper Uſe of *this Ballance* has ſaved our C
ſtitution; and to what Misfortunes we have
expoſed by the Neglect, or improper Uſe of it

Since this *Diviſion of Power*, and theſe *di*
Privileges, conſtitute and maintain our Gove
ment; it follows that the *Confuſion* of them
to deſtroy it. This Propoſition is therefore tr
that, *in a Conſtitution like ours, the Safety of*
Whole depends on the Ballance *of the Parts.* I
ſee whether it be true, *that the* Ballance *of the P*
conſiſts in their mutual Independency.

To ſpeak again without any *Metaphor*,
Power, which the ſeveral Parts of our Gove
ment have of *controuling* and *checking one ano*
may be called a *Dependency on one another*,
may be argued for by Thoſe, who want to th
Darkneſs round them, as the *Dependency* oppo
to the *Independency*, mention'd in the *Propo*
But the Fallacy is groſs. We have ſhewn t
this Power of Controul in each, which re
from the *Diviſion of Power* amongſt all the P
of our Government, is neceſſary to the Pre

on of it; and thus a Sort of *conſtitutional De-*
ency, if I may have Leave to expreſs myſelf
hat Manner, is created among Them; but
mutual Dependency cannot be oppoſed to the
pendency pleaded for. On the contrary, this
ual Dependency cannot ſubſiſt without ſuch an
pendency; for whenever this *Independency* is loſt,
mutual Dependency is that Moment changed in-
particular conſtant Dependency of one Part *on*
; *or, which is ſtill more unreaſonable, of* two
ts *on* one. The *conſtitutional Dependency*, as I
e called it for Diſtinction's Sake, conſiſts in
is; that the Proceedings of *each Part* of the
vernment, when They come forth into Action
affect the whole, are liable to be examined
controuled by the *other Parts*. The *Indepen-*
y pleaded for conſiſts in This; that the Reſo-
ons of *each Part*, which direct theſe Proceed-
s, be taken *independently* and without any *In-*
nce, direct or indirect, on the *others*. With-
the *firſt*, each Part would be at Liberty to at-
npt deſtroying the *Ballance*, by uſurping, or a-
ing Power; but without the *laſt*, there can be
Ballance at all. I will illuſtrate This, by ſup-
ing a Prince, who claims and exerciſes a Right
levying Money without Conſent of Parliament.
could not be oppoſed effectually, if the *two*
uſes of Parliament had not a Right to oppoſe
m; to call his *Miniſters* to Account; and to
ke Him feel that, far from being *abſolute*, He
s under this *conſtitutional Dependency*; but He
uld not be oppoſed at all, if the *two Houſes of*
rliament were under his *Influence*, and incapable
directing their Proceedings *independently* of Him.
ne would be aſhamed to inſiſt thus much on a
int ſo very clear, if *ſome Men* were not ſo har-

dened

dened to all Senſe of Shame as to maintain
contrary; and that there are Men capable of
ing This, is one of thoſe melancholy Sym
toms, which characterize the *preſent Age*.
could almoſt appeal to the cool Thoughts, and
private Reflections of ſome of *theſe Writers*, w
ther any Thing can be more ſcandalous than
Taſk they have undertaken. To ſkreen their *P*
trons, They endeavour to diſtinguiſh us out
our greateſt *national Advantages*; as was obſer
in the Caſe of *Dunkirk*. To reconcile the Mi
of Men to *ſuch Meaſures*, as their *Patrons* n
want, and as no *honeſt Man* will take, They
deavour to demoliſh the very *Corner-ſtones*,
which the whole Fabrick of *Liberty* reſts. Th
Iniquity, it muſt be confeſs'd, is very ſyſtem
cal. When they write for *Corruption*, They w
for the *Means*. When they write for the *De*
dency of the Parliament on the Court, They w
for the *End*. Well might *Oldcaſtle* ſay of t
Writers, their *Patrons* and *Abettors*, *that the M*
was pulled off on one Side. Let me conjure the
in the Name of Modeſty, to call Themſel
Whigs no longer. It is Time They ſhould l
that Appellation aſide; ſince it will not be h
to prove, from the general Tenor of their Wr
ings, that the Maxims They advance, the Do
trines They inculcate, and the Conduct They
commend, lead to the Deſtruction of *civil Lib*
as much as the political Leſſons of *Sibthorpe*, *M*
waring, or Archbiſhop *Laud* Himſelf. They
their Followers declared Themſelves directly
gainſt *Liberty*. To plead for it was almoſt *Bl*
phemy; and to aſſert it little leſs than the Sin
gainſt the *holy Ghoſt*, according to the Doctri
taught by *thoſe Divines*. Such Abſurdities m

w Converts in *thoſe Days*; and the Preachers of em would meet with the utmoſt Contempt in eſe. But the *Writers*, of whom We now com-in, affect to maintain the Cauſe of *Liberty*, hilſt They betray it. They aſſert the Principles *Liberty in general*, and ſometimes reaſon upon hem well enough; but when They apply them particular *Caſes*, They prevaricate, evade, and ert all their poor Endeavours to turn the Cannon *Liberty* againſt Herſelf. The *others* had *Fœnum Cornu*. They put Mankind on their Guard a-inſt them, and were the true Promoters of all e Miſchief and Confuſion, which followed, hen the Nation run into the utmoſt Extreams, Oppoſition to them. *Theſe Men* inſinuate emſelves as Friends to *Liberty*. They are looked on as ſuch by ſome few Perſons, who mean ell to *Liberty* even at this Time; and yet They e almoſt wholly employed in promoting That, hich is deſtructive of *Liberty*, and inconſiſtent ith it; *Corruption* and *Dependency*. *Laud* and e others endeavoured openly to lop the Branches d cut down the Tree; but *theſe Men* are private-poiſoning the Root of *Liberty*. The Power of e *Court*, and the Authority of the *Lawyers*, could t make the levying *Ship Money* paſs for *Law*, r prevail on the Nation to bear it. But if it ere poſſible to ſuppoſe an *Houſe of Commons as pendent as theſe Lawyers*, (and They would be as pendent, if the Doctrines, which We oppoſe evailed amongſt them) the Nation might then loaded with *Taxes*, oppreſſed with *Debts*, and duced to the greateſt Miſery by *Law*. Our *Li-rties*, as well as our *Eſtates*, might be taken om us. We might be *legally undone*. Theſe are oſſible Conſequences of *ſuch Doctrines*. If they

are not probable, We owe no thanks to the too *Preachers* of them. The Nature of our pre *Settlement*, which is built on the Foundation of *berty*, the Intereſt and Honour of the *Prince* n on the Throne, as well as of his illuſtrious Po rity, are our Security againg theſe Dangers; b ſtill I ſay, We owe no Thanks to the *Writers* the Side of the *Miniſtry*.

I have dwelt pretty much upon this Point, ſhew what is the real Deſign of *theſe Remarks*; a I will venture to add, that *thoſe Perſons* who o poſe *ſuch Doctrines* as We have been oppoſing, w appear at laſt to be the trueſt Friends to his Maj King GEORGE and the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*; wh can ſubſiſt only upon *thoſe Principles*, upon wh it was originally eſtabliſhed.

LETTER VIII.

IF the Reign of *Henry the ſixth* was a Reign *Faction*, Thoſe of the Houſe of *York* were likewiſe. —— The Popularity, Bravery, Cruel Raſhneſs, Uxorioufneſs, Incontinency of *Edw the fourth*; in ſhort, his good and his bad Quali worked the different Effects of ſupporting, co perating and increaſing *Factions*. The Char ters of *Henry the ſixth's Queen*, and of the Earl *Warwick*, to mention no more of the princip Actors on that bloody Stage, conſpired to ma tain and aggravate this national Calamity.

In theſe long, continued Struggles, the whi Nation became involved, and the Factions of *Y* and *Lancaſter* growing every Day more anim

nd better diſciplined. We are not to wonder that hey fought *uſque ad Interneſcionem*; at leaſt, till he Field of Battle, the Scaffold, and ſome Theres of clandeſtine Murthers, had left no Man, on he Side, alive, who was in a Condition to opoſe, or give Jealouſy to the other. But That, hich may very juſtly raiſe our Wonder, is that *dward the fourth*, having ſecured to Himſelf and is Family the Poſſeſſion of the Throne, by the lurther of *Henry the ſixth*, and his *Son*, and by he total Defeat of the whole *Lancaſtrian Party*, ould ſuffer *two new Factions* to be nurſed up, hich divided his *own Party*, occaſioned the Murer of his *Sons*, and, by eſtabliſhing the ſhort-lived yranny of his *Brother*, brought the Earl of *Richond* to the Throne, and ſunk for ever the Houſe *York* in That of *Lancaſter*.

Edward the fourth's Queen was the original auſe of all this Miſchief, and a principal Sufrer herſelf in the Courſe of it. She was reſolved to govern at any Rate; and *Rapin* obſerves, *hat, as her being* Queen *gave her no Manner of itle to meddle with the Affairs of the Publick, ſhe new how to manage that Matter another Way; amely, by the Influence ſhe had over the* King. *hough* Edward *often proved falſe to Her, ſhe bore it ry patiently, and never ſhewed her Uneaſineſs at it.* dward, *charmed to find Himſelf at Liberty to purue his Inclinations, without Danger of continual Reaches, repayed her Moderation with the moſt obligng and condeſcending Behaviour; of which ſhe knew ow to make a good Uſe.* She maintained this Aſendant over her *Huſband* to the laſt, and for a ittle Complaiſance, which coſt Her nothing in reſent, ſhe purchaſed a Degree of Power in the tate, which coſt her dear in Conſequence, by a-

lienating the Affections of the People from h Husband, during his Life, and ruining his Fami afterwards, as I have hinted before.

Her Aim was, according to *Rapin*, *to ſecure h Power during the King's Life, and, in Caſe ſhe ſu vived Him, to make ſure of the Government of t Kingdom, in the Name of the Prince her Son, wh He ſhould come to be on the Throne; but by a Fatali not unuſual to the beſt-laid Projects, this very Thi proved the Occaſion of her own and her Family's Ru*

I cannot think, as *Rapin* ſeems to do, that h Project deſerved to be ranked amongſt Thoſ which are the *beſt-laid*. It appears to be the na row Project of a *Woman*, who had Cunning, In ſinuation, and the Spirit of Intrigue, with muc Pride and Ambition; but wanted that extenſi Knowledge, and that ſuperior Genious, (ſuch a *Catherine of Medicis* and our Queen *Elizabeth* po ſeſſed) which is neceſſary to conduct ſo great Deſign as her Paſſion prompted Her to undertak for what was her *Project*? Was it to acquire a Intereſt in the *Nation*, by deſerving well of it?— Nothing leſs. It was ſingly This; to form *Faction at Court*, by raiſing her Relations and im mediate Dependants, which ſhould be wholly h *own*, and into whoſe Hands ſhe might throw a the Power and Profit, which the King had to be ſtow. She had the good Luck to compaſs thi Deſign, and triumphed, no doubt very wiſely, i her great Succeſs. Surrounded by her Creature ſhe looked no farther than that Circle, and eithe took no Notice of the Temper of the *Nation*, judged of it by the Temper of the *Court*. B the Riſe of *this Faction* immediately formed e *nother*, and eſtabliſhed the Diſtinction of *ancie* and *new Nobility*. The *former* had the true natura

Strengt

trength, which great Eſtates in *Land* and eſtab-ſhed *Credit* in the Nation gave Them. The *tter* had no Strength of their own; none but hat adventitious Strength, which aroſe from *Em-loyments* and *Favour at Court*. They brought no-hing to Court, which could make the Court a-hends for the *Envy* and *Diſcontent*, which their levation created. To ſupply This, two Things ere done; which ſerved, perhaps, to fortify the *Queen* in her Deluſion, and thereby made the Ruin f her ambitious Projects the ſurer. All Thoſe, who were not in the good Graces of *her Faction*, ere diſgraced at Court, and in Effect baniſhed om it. Nay they were perſecuted by the Power f it; as the Duke of *Clarence*, the King's own rother, was, even to Death. The Names of the arties of *York* and *Lancaſter* might ſubſiſt and be ade Uſe of, on proper Occaſions; but in reality, he being for or againſt the Party of the *Queen* as the ſole Diſtinction, which prevailed; and ven the Friends of the Houſe of *York*, whom he *Queen* did not affect, were debarred from ha-ing the *King's* Ear; excepting only *Three* of his ld and moſt faithful Servants, who maintained hemſelves againſt *Her* and her *Faction*. I mean *tafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, *Haſtings* and *Stan-y*.

Another Method, which *this Queen* took to rengthen herſelf and her *Faction*, was by raking p Money by illegal and oppreſſive Means; par-icularly, by ſetting Proſecutions on Foot againſt he rich Men of the Kingdom, ſeveral of whom ere arraigned of *High Treaſon*, and encouraging he Judges to get them found guilty at any Rate. *Habington* obſerves (in his Hiſtory of *this King*) *that s their* Wealth *was the principal Evidence againſt*

them, though their Perſons *were acquitted, their* E
tates *were found guilty.*

The *ſame Hiſtorian* obſerves farther, that '
' Memory of theſe Carriages hithertofore, in
' Buſineſs that concerned the Life of a Man,
' puted innocent, drew the World into m
' Fear that he would now decline to Rigo
' Neither was the *King* totally excuſed, altho
' this cruel Avarice was laid to the *Queen*, w
' having a numerous Iſſue and Kindred, by
' vour raiſed up to the higheſt Titles, was alm
' neceſſitated, for Supportance of their Hono
' to rack the Kingdom.

Edward ſeemed ſenſible, before his Death,
the miſchievous Conſequences, which this C
duct and the claſhing of *two Factions* might p
duce. He endeavoured to prevent them by
conciling the two Parties; *a poor Expedient!* (
Rapin juſtly obſerves) *which could not eaſily pro*
the Effect be expected.

The Duke of *Gloucester*, who concealed his D
ſign till his *Brother*'s Death, took Advantag
theſe Factions. He made his Court publickly
the *Queen*, and held a private Correſpondence wi
the *oppoſite Party.* Nay, he found Means,
fomenting it, to raiſe a *Third* for himſelf.

I have dwelt the longer, in this Place, on t
ſtrange Turns and cruel Effects of *Faction*; b
cauſe, I believe, no Example can be produced m
of any Hiſtory, which ſets them in a ſtrong
Light; and becauſe this Period of Time affor
ing but ſmall Matter to recommend the *Spirit*
Liberty, which had little to do in the Tranſactio
of it, I imagine that pointing out the fatal C
ſequences of the *contrary Spirit*, which then p
vailed, may anſwer the ſame End; as expli

Vice is frequently the ſtrongeſt Recommendation *Virtus*.

But we muſt not imagine, notwithſtanding all e contrary Appearances in this Period, that the *irit of Liberty* was abſolutely extinguiſhed. hough *that Flame* was loſt, for the moſt Part, in e conſtant Glare of *Faction*, yet it was ſtill alive; d by living, preſerved the Conſtitution of our overnment, during the whole Courſe of theſe *il Wars*.

If we look cloſely into theſe Scenes of Confuſi-, we may diſcover many particular Inſtances of e Operations of *this Spirit*. Such were the ifficulties and Delays oppoſed to the Grant of *nnage* and *Poundage*, for nine Years together; d the many Reſtrictions added to *this Grant*, hen it was at laſt obtained by *Edward* the IVth. ther Inſtances to the ſame Purpoſe might be oted; but we chuſe to inſiſt on a more *general bſervation*, already mentioned by us, which runs ro' the whole Period, and is ſo ſtrongly vouched Hiſtory as to admit of no Cavil.

The *Obſervation* we are going to make contains memorable Exception to this Propoſition, which but too generally true, *that the Spirit of* Liberty *the Spirit of* Faction *are incompatible, and cannot ng ſubſiſt together*. The Virtue of our Anceſtors ade this Exception; and if it hath been remem-ered to their Shame, that they ſunk the *national tereſt* in the particular Intereſt of *two Families*; ought to be remembered to their Honour, that ey did ſo in this ſingle Point only, WHO *ſhould ign*, and in no other. We took Notice, in a rmer Paper, that upon every Revolution, each ide engaged the *Parliament* for them, and that hoever prevailed, the *Parliament* wiſely complied.

This Conduct, which lasted from *Richard* the down to *Richard* the III. preserved our *Liberti* but it could not have been pursued, nor could *Liberties* by Consequence have been preserved the *Spirit of Liberty* had not been latent in Hearts of those very Men, who seemed to brea nothing but *Faction*. How could it have happe that the sole Title of *Conquest* was never establi in so many Revolutions brought about by *Sword*, if the Actors in them had not been stro ly affected with a Love and Reverence for the Constitution of our Government? The Prin of *York* and *Lancaster* themselves were willing, desirous, to have a *Parliamentary Confirmation* their Titles, real or pretended. But how ca they to be so desirous of it? How came the think it necessary? The Case is plain. T Temper of their *Parties* and of their *Armies* be this Necessity. The *Spirit of Liberty* preva enough in the whole Body of the Nation, out which these *Parties* and *Armies* were composed, preserve the Principles of *publick Freedom*, thou not enough to preserve the *publick Peace*.—E *Side* contended to have a *King* of their *own Part* but *neither Side* would have a *Tyrant*.—They sa crificed their Lives to *Faction*; but would n give up their *Liberties*.—The victorious Armi led their Kings to the Foot of the Throne; b carryed them no farther.

The Author of the *short History of standi Armies* observes, that, *in all the Wars of* York a Lancaster, *whatever Party prevailed, we do not f They ever attempted to keep up a* standing Arm *Such was the Virtue of those Times*, says He, t *they would rather run the Hazard of forfeiting the Heads and Estates to the Rage of the opposite Part* tho

an certainly enſlave their Country, though They emſelves were to be the Tyrants.—This Remark is ſt, as far as it goes; and it goes as far as *that uthor* wanted to carry it; but it is not ſo full, or carried ſo far as Hiſtory will warrant. That e Princes, who obtained the Crown by their *rmies*, did not attempt to govern by their *Armies* terwards, is moſt true, and may reflect ſome onour on *thoſe Princes*, and on the Heads of their *arties*. But there is ſomething more than This markable in the Conduct of thoſe Times; for en in the Heat of Victory, in the Raptures of a ceſsful Revolution, and before the Armies could diſbanded, We ſee theſe Princes obliged to cend the Steps of the Throne in ſuch Manner, d under ſuch Conditions, as the *Parliament* ought fit to preſcribe, and as were not always reeable to Them. This, I am ſure, reflects eat Honour on the *Parliaments*, who were Acrs in the laſt Scenes of all theſe Revolutions; d on the *Armies*, who contented Themſelves to come Spectators in ſuch Conjunctures.—We ill take the *firſt Example*, which preſents itſelf in eſe Wars.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* was at the Head of an rmy of 60,000 Men, when He came to the rown. The *Proclamation*, which He publiſhed e very Day he was crowned, ſhewed how very nwilling He was to ſeem to hold his Crown pure- by Right of *Election*. He would gladly have up That of *Conqueſt*; or a Title derived from *ichard the ſecond's Reſignation*; or a Title by *lood*; or *any Title*, but the *true One*. Notwithanding This, He was obliged, when nothing uld have obliged Him but the Senſe of his *own arty* and *Army*, to ſubmit to as formal an *Elec-*

tion as ever was made. The *two Houſes* t
Notice of the blind Claim of *Right*, which He
tered. They *choſe* Him to be King, upon
Queſtion put to Them, after having given t
Negative to the Duke of *York*; to his *Sons*;
to *others*, who were ſeverally propoſed in the ſa
Manner to Them. They ſeem induſtriouſly
have contrived and purſued, on this Occaſion
Method of proceeding as oppoſite as poſſible
the Views and Inclination of *this Prince*, wh
Army attended Him, and whoſe *Rival* was
Priſoner.

Again; to take another Example from the la
End of theſe Wars. The Battle of *Northam*
being won, and *Henry the ſixth* taken, the Duke
York haſtens out of *Ireland* to put Himſelf at t
Head of his *Party* and his *Army*. The *Parlia*
meets. The *Duke* aſſerts his undoubted Right
Deſcent to the Crown, which he demands as
to Him, without any Interpoſition of *Parliam*
He ſhews the utmoſt, and even an indecent Im
tience to take Poſſeſſion of it. He is ſuppor
by his *own Party*. He is oppoſed by *others*.
the Matter is by all ſubmitted to the Debate a
Deciſion of *Parliament*. The *Debate* itſelf m
have been grievous enough to a Prince ſo fond
a Crown, and ſo much warmed with the No
of his *hereditary Right*. But the *Deciſion* of
Affair muſt have wounded Him to the Quick.
little Regard was paid to his *Right*, that He w
forced to content Himſelf with leaving the Cro
on the Head of *Henry the ſixth*, during that Prin
Life, and not to have the Proſpect of ſucceedi
to it, till after that Prince's Deceaſe; which,
the Way, was a Point of the leſs Value to Him
becauſe He was older than *Henry the ſixth*,

uld not hope to be the better for it, according to e Courſe of Nature. He ſubmitted to all theſe ortifications; and a very *judicious Hiſtorian* at-ibutes his Submiſſion to his *Moderation*; but I lieve Thoſe, who fully conſider his *former Con-t*, and his paſſionate Behaviour, at *this Time*, ll hardly ſubſcribe to ſuch a Judgment. His bmiſſion, like That of *Henry the fourth*, in the aſe before-cited, was a Submiſſion, which the emper of his *Party* rendered neceſſary. They ould not force the Reſolutions of the *two Houſes*; d why the *two Houſes* would go no farther in his avour, at that Juncture, might eaſily be account-for, if This were a proper Place for that Diſ-iſition.— After the Battle of *Wakefield*, where e Duke of *York* was killed, and That of St. *Al-ns*, where the Earl of *Warwick* was beaten, the action of *York* were determined, by the Dangers hey had run, and by the Loſſes They had ſuſ-ined, to ballance no longer, but to ſet the Crown n the Head of the Earl of *March*; and yet They ceeded no otherwiſe than under the Authority *Parliament*, which had ratified the *Agreement* ade between the late Duke of *York* and *Henry e ſixth*. By *one Article* of this Agreement it was ipulated, that if King *Henry* broke it in any oint, the Crown and royal Dignity ſhould im-ediately devolve on the Duke of *York*, if alive; r, in Failure of Him, on his next Heir. The arl of *Warwick* therefore, in a Kind of *military ſſembly*, (for a Part of the *Army*, at leaſt, was here) proceeded to the Election of *Edward the ourth*; but He proceeded on this Foundation. he great Efforts made to break *this Agreement* nd to defeat the Effect of it, by King *Henry*'s *Queen*, and the *Lancaſtrian Party*, were interpreted,

and

and not without Colour, as ſo many Infracti of it. By Conſequence, *Edward the fourth* had immediate Right to the Crown, by Virtue of t *Act of Parliament*, made in Confirmation of *Convention*, which *Act* and *Convention* were pr duced by *Warwick*, who cauſed them to be pu lickly read. The Proceeding of *this Aſſem* which hath a tumultuous Air in Hiſtory, w therefore in reality a *Proclamation* of a King, ma by Authority of *Parliament*, and not of an *El tion* of a King, without that *Authority*.

Let us conclude, that if the *Spirit of Fact* hath, on ſome Occaſions, prevailed over the *Spi of Liberty* ſo far as to defeat and even pervert t Deſigns of the *latter*; the *Spirit of Liberty* ha likewiſe revived, in its Turn, on other Occaſion and prevented the Conſummation of that Miſer which *Faction* would naturally and of courſe ha produced. Let us conclude, that all *ſtanding A mies*, for whatſoever Purpoſe inſtituted, or in wha ſo ever Habit cloathed, may be eaſily made t Inſtruments of *Faction*; becauſe a Body of Me ſeparated, in many Reſpects, from the Reſt of t Nation, conſtrained to *different Cuſtoms*, and i ſome Meaſure ſubjected to *different Laws*, may b eaſily perſuaded that they have a *different Intere* Let us conclude, that theſe *Caſuiſts in red* are th moſt dangerous in this Reſpect, that having *Swor* by their Sides, They are able at once to cut thoſ *gordian Knots*, which *others* muſt untie by Degree But let us conclude, at the ſame Time, that if t *Spirit of Liberty* be kept up in a free Nation, it will be kept up in the *Army* of that Nation; and that when it is thus kept up, though the *Spirit of Faction* may do great Hurt, it cannot compleat the publick Ruin. We ſee the Truth of this Obſervation

ſervation exemplified near *three Centuries* ago; d let us remember with Gratitude that the ſame ruth was again confirmed to us no longer ago n *two and forty Years.*

LETTER IX.

NE of the Hiſtorians of *Brittany*, if I remember right, and I think it is *Argentre*, ſays, e People of that Dutchy grew ſo much tired th the Diſputes between *Charles of Blois*, and e *Monforts*, that the two Parties agreed, juſt be- re a Battle, to make an End of the Quarrel at ce, by taking off that Prince, againſt whom the rtune of the Day ſhould declare itſelf.—Our nceſtors were very far from following this Exple; but They ſeized the Opportunity, which s preſented to Them, after *Richard the third* d uſurped the Throne, and murdered his ephews, of aboliſhing *Tyranny* and extinguiſhing *ction*.

The Princes of *York* and *Lancaſter* butchered e another in ſuch a Manner, that the Right of e *former* centered in *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter *Edward the fourth*, and the Pretenſions of the *ter* were allowed, by the whole *Lancaſtrian arty*, to belong to the Earl of *Richmond*.—This as the State of the *Families*.

The Faction of *York* deteſted *Richard* for his ſurpation and Cruelties.—The Faction of *Lanſter* hated Him for his Name; and neither the reat Qualities, which he really had, nor the good ualities which He affected, could reconcile Mankind

kind to his Barbarity.———This was the Te
per of the *Nation*.

The Opportunity, thus formed, was impro
by the univerſal Concurrence, which a *Spirit*
Liberty, and a Regard to the *publick Good*, inde
dent of *Party*, inſpired. The Faction of
became willing to receive a King of the Houſe
Lancaſter; and the Party of *Lancaſter* a Queen
the Houſe of *York*. All Parties laboured to u
the *two Roſes*; and *Faction* itſelf was bent, in t
fortunate Conjucture, to extirpate *Faction*.

The Depoſition of *Richard*, and the Advan
ment of the Earl of *Richmond* to the Throne, u
this expreſs Condition that He ſhould marry
Princeſs *Elizabeth*, were purſued with Succeſs, e
when *Richard* thought Himſelf moſt ſecure; w
the *Parliament* had been obliged to confirm
Uſurpation; to declare the Children of *Ed*
Baſtards; and to attaint the Earl of *Richmond*.

What a Scene of national Peace and Proſper
was opened by this Revolution and new Set
ment! But how ſoon was it ſhifted? How ſo
were the wiſe and honeſt Views of the *Many*, d
feated by the Cunning and Iniquity of the *Fe*
———*Henry the ſeventh*, a *Creature of the Peo*
(if ever any Prince was ſuch) had been raiſed
the Throne, in order to cut up the Roots of *Fa*
tion; to reſtore publick Tranquility; and to eſt
bliſh a *legal Government* on the Ruins of *Tyra*
———He did the very Reverſe of all This. H
Reign, and That of his Son, have been two of t
ſevereſt, under which our Country hath groan
ſince the *Conqueſt*; and yet, in theſe very Reig
the Foundations of *Liberty* were laid much broa
and ſtronger than ever.———How This ca
abo

out, it muſt be uſeful, and perhaps it may be tertaining, to conſider.

Henry the ſeventh, who would have been glad, a tle before, to have aſſured Himſelf of the Crown any Terms, grew difficult as ſoon he had ob- ined it. He durſt not avow a Title by *Conqueſt*; t he evaded the Appearances of a *parliamentary tle* very induſtriouſly, and made the Ceremony of *Coronation* precede the Meeting of his *Parliament*. e evaded, in the ſame Manner, the Appearances any Communication of Right from the Prin- ſs *Elizabeth*, by deferring his Marriage till an *ct* had paſſed to ſettle the Crown on *Him* and *s Poſterity*, without any Mention of the Houſe *York*. In ſhort, his whole Skill, Credit and ower were employed to get the Act of Settlement generally and ſo ambiguouſly penned, as to leave im Room to aſſert afterwards a Right inherent *Himſelf*, and independent of the Authority of *Parliament*. Nay, He went farther; for, in the *Bull* of Confirmation, which he obtained from the *Pope*, and in which He affected to have all Sorts of Titles enumerated, He took particular Care to have That of *Conqueſt* inſerted.

Such a Conduct gave ſufficient Reaſon for Alarm; but We do not find that it was taken. The *Tyrant* was dead; and the *new Eſtabliſhment* was made. The Nation was overjoyed; and the Work of *Liberty* was done by Halves. The *new King* found a Compliance with all his Meaſures, as *new Kings* generally do. But little Reflection was made, perhaps, at that Time, on theſe Pro- ceedings of the *Court*; or if a juſt Reflection was made, We may eaſily believe that it was ſoon ſtifled by that Adulation, which repreſents the moſt neceſſary Precautions, the moſt juſt Com-

plaints,

plaints, and the Aſſertion of the cleareſt Right
Proofs of *Diſaffection*.

The whole Courſe of *Henry the ſeventh's* Re
was anſwerable to theſe Beginnings; and
ſeems to have eſtabliſhed himſelf in the Powe
purſuing Principles of Government, evidently
pugnant to Thoſe, upon which he had been ra
to the Throne, before the Nation was well aw
of what he intended. He planted *Faction* an
and was the true Cauſe of all the Diſturban
which followed from it, and which began e
in the firſt Year of his Reign. Many of
York Party had ſignalized themſelves in
Cauſe. All of them ſubmitted to his Gove
ment; and that ſmall Branch of this Par
which had ſupported *Richard the third*, was
inconſiderable to hurt him; but he ſoon made
conſiderable, by driving almoſt the whole
Party into that Intereſt. *He had conceived*,
Rapin, *ſo mortal an Hatred for the whole* Houſe
York, *that he let ſlip no Opportunity to humble*
Yorkiſts; *behaving always towards them not as a*
King, *but like the* Head of a Party.

That ſome of his *Miniſters*, of the *Lancaſtri*
Party, might find their private Account in ſuch
Meaſure, and ſacrifice to it both the Intereſt
their *Maſter* and their *Country*, is obvious enough
but how the *King*, who was certainly an able Ma
could prefer *dividing*, inſtead of *uniting* his Peop
in Affection and Obedience, would appear ver
marvellous, if Experience had not taught us, th
Men of the greateſt Genius fall ſometimes int
the ſame Errors, as Men of the leaſt Genius wou
be apt to commit in the ſame Circumſtances.
How This happens we are not, in this Place, t
enquire.

Henry

Henry the ſeventh proceeded as he had been
fered to ſet out, and eſtabliſhed by Degrees,
d Thoſe not ſlow, a Power almoſt abſolute.
s Jealouſy, his Pride, and his inſatiable, ſordid
arice had their full Swing. He became hated
n by his *own Party*, and might very probably
e loſt his Crown, if many *Circumſtances*, both
home and abroad, had not conſpired in his Fa-
ur, and if he had not improved them all with
utmoſt Ability of Council and Dexterity of
anagement. The Chief of theſe *Circumſtances*,
d it well deſerves to be remarked, was This.—
ey, who ventured their Eſtates and Lives in ſe-
ral Inſurrections againſt Him, and *They*, who
ivately fomented theſe Inſurrections, inſtead of
iting on a *national Principle*, and bending their
ndeavours to a *Reformation of Government*, united
a *Principle of Faction*; for the King's Behaviour
d revived *this Spirit*, as we obſerved above; but
ll *this Spirit*, though revived, had not attained
s former Strength. The Nation in general was
red of *Faction*; dreaded a Relapſe into the Conſe-
uences of it; and would not engage for a *Simnel*,
Warbeck, or even a real Prince of the *Houſe of*
rk. A national Coolneſs, on one Side, and
igilance and Vigour, on the King's Part, de-
ated all theſe Enterprizes, as faſt as they were
rmed. Every one of theſe Defeats gave *Henry*
dditional Strength, and Increaſe of Reputation,
hich is Strength in its Effects. Thus it hap-
ened in this Caſe; and thus it hath happened in
many others. By making an *ill Uſe of his Power*,
he King was the real Author of all the Diſorders
n the State, and of all the Attempts againſt his
Government; and yet, the better to prevent ſuch
Diſorders

Diſorders, and to reſiſt ſuch Attempts, *farther Powers* were intruſted to Him. Becauſe he *governed ill*, it was put in his Power to *govern well*; and *Liberty* was undermined, for fear it ſhould be overthrown. It hath fared ſometimes with *Monarchy* as with the Church of *Rome*. Both have acquired *greater Wealth* and *Power* by the *Abuſe* of what they had, and Mankind have been egregiouſly the *Bubbles* of both.

We muſt not however conclude that this King made *Force* the ſole, though He made it the principal Expedient of his Government. He was wiſe enough to conſider that his *Court* was not the *Nation*; and that however He might command with a Nod in *one*, He muſt captivate, at leaſt in ſome Degree, the good Will of Mankind, to make Himſelf ſecure of being long obeyed in the *other*; nay more, that He muſt make his People ſome Amends for the *Oppreſſions*, which his Avarice particularly expoſed them to ſuffer. For the Reaſons, as He ſtrained his *Prerogative*, on ſome Occaſions, very high; ſo He let it down again upon others, and affected to ſhew to his *Parliament* much Condeſcenſion, notwithſtanding his Pride, as well as much Communication of Counſel, notwithſtanding his Reſerve.

To attribute to this *Solomon* of *Great Britain* the ſole Merit of the *Laws*, made in his Time, as ſome have done, ſeems unreaſonable; but it was certainly great Merit in Him, and We may add rare Merit, inſtead of oppoſing, or refuſing conſtantly to remunerate his People, by promoting and paſſing of *good Laws*, *which evermore were his Retribution for Treaſure*. Theſe are my Lord *Bacon*'s Words, and better than His cannot be found to expreſs the general Character of the *Laws*, which the Wiſ-

of thoſe Times produced. They were *deep and vulgar*; *not made upon the Spur of a particular Occaſion for the* preſent; *but out of Providence of the* future, *to make the Eſtate of the People ſtill more and more eaſy, after the Manner of the* Legiſlators *in antient heroical Times.*— Huſbandry, Manufactures, General Commerce, and Increaſe of uſeful People, were carefully attended to, and conſiderably advanced; ſo that whilſt the Weight of *Taxes*, and the Vexations of *Empſon*, *Dudley*, and their *ſubordinate Harpies*, were ſeverely felt, every Man felt likewiſe the particular Benefit, which He received from the general Advantages procured to the Nation. Theſe Drops of *Manna*, which fell from the Throne, ſoftened the Murmurs of the People. They could not make the King *beloved*; but they made Him *leſs hated*; and the middle and lower Ranks of Men, who felt leſs the *Rigour of Government*, felt more immediately the Effects of his *Care* and his *Wiſdom*.

We will not refine ſo much as to ſay, that the *Commons* were patient under the Preſſures of this Reign, becauſe They forſaw the Conſequence of *theſe Meaſures*, which the King took to leſſen the Power of his *Nobility*. He did not, perhaps, Himſelf diſcern theſe Conſequences in their full Extent; but ſurely if this Part of his Conduct was *politick*, it was no leſs *popular* at that Time; ſince the ſame exorbitant Power of the *Peers*, which had been ſo formidable to the *Crown*, had not been leſs oppreſſive to the *Commons*. The Weight of *perſonal Service* had been terribly felt, during the Wars of *York* and *Lancaſter*; and the Obligation of *that Tenure* had, no Doubt, contributed to prolong them. The *Tenant* therefore, who found *his Service* commuted into a *Rent*, could not but think

think his Condition mended, and be extre
pleaſed with *this Alteration*, though He did n
the Conſequences of the *other*; which, by op
a Way to the *Lords* to alienate their Lands, o
a Way to the *Commons* to increaſe their *Pri*
and conſequently their *Power* in the State; as
be very eaſily obſerved in the ſucceeding Re

LETTER X.

HENRY *the eighth* came to the Crown
very great Advantages. Whatever Ob
tions had been made to his *Father's Title*, t
remained no Pretence of objecting to *his*; an
any Pretence had remained, the Diſpoſition
make Uſe of it would not have been found.
Nation was grown weary of *Faction*; fond
Tranquility; and every Day more and more a
tive to the Arts of *Peace*.——The *Prerogative*
been extended wide and carryed high; and
Means employed, to acquire and maintain this
thority, had been eſtabliſhed by a Reign of two
four Years. ——— The *Treaſures*, which *H*
the ſeventh had accumulated and left to his S
were immenſe; and in leaving Him theſe Tr
ſures, He left him That, which was more v
able than all of them. He left Him an Op
tunity of gaining the *Affections* of his People,
his Acceſſion to the Throne, by putting a Stop
that *publick Rapine*, which had been ſo long ex
ciſed; and by diſgracing and puniſhing Th
who had been the *principal Inſtruments* of
Henry the eighth ſeized the Opportunity and i
pro

ed it. He confirmed, in the firſt Moments
s Reign, that *Pardon*, which his Father had
ted in the laſt of his Life, and when He could
for no farther Profit by *not pardoning*. He
ed, by Proclamation, ſuch as had been wronged
omplain, and promiſed them Satisfaction.
Henry the eighth had been avaricious, or
enough to prefer *Wealth* to *Popularity*, He
ld have obſerved another Conduct. He would
thought *thoſe Men* fitteſt to ſerve Him, who
ſignalized Themſelves moſt in fleecing the
le; and without any Regard to their Ability
aying the *Game of Stateſmen*, He would have
en them purely for their Skill in *packing the*
ds. *Empſon* and *Dudley* would have continued
ower, and have riſen in Favour. But He was
wiſe, or too honeſtly counſelled in theſe Begin-
s of his Government, to purſue *ſuch Meaſures*,
employ *ſuch Miniſters*. He kept ſome in his
ncil, who were of approved Abilities; but far
loading his own Adminiſtration with the
cipal Guilt of the *former*; far from grieving
provoking his People, by countenancing the
hated, and the *moſt juſtly hated*, *Men* of the
le Kingdom, He threw thoſe *Criminals* out of
Sanctuary of the Court, and expoſed them to
national Vengeance, under the Weight of which
y periſhed.——— The *Manner*, in which
r Lives were taken away, ſeems liable to great
jection, and I would not be thought to approve
for a *Spirit of Liberty* can never approve *ſuch*
ceedings, even againſt the *worſt* and the *moſt*
ty of Men, as may be applied to deſtroy the
and the *moſt innocent*. All I mean to com-
nd is the Wiſdom of *Henry the eighth*, in aban-
ing *theſe Miniſters*; in gaining the *Affections* of
his

his Subjects; and in making ſuch Impreſſion Gratitude on their Minds, as laſted long and of Service to Him, even when He oppreſſed People in his Turn.

Vanity and *Preſumption* were reigning Qua in the Character of *this Prince*. The *firſt* trayed Him into continual Errors. The *laſt* Him perſiſt in them. *Pride* is obſerved to d its own End, by bringing the Man, who Eſteem and Reverence, into Contempt. Va Self-Sufficiency, Preſumption (the Off-ſprin *Pride*) have much the ſame Effect; ſince no is ſo liable to be *deceived* and *governed*, as He, imagines that He is capable of *neither*.

The Characters of the Princes and Pope this Age, rendered the Scene of *foreign Affair* ry important. *Henry the eighth* was happy en to have no Intereſt of *his own abroad* worth en ing Him in the Broils of the Continent. He free from Guaranties of *foreign Dominions*, from all Engagements to *foreign Princes*, w could in the leaſt encumber Him. In this S He might have kept Himſelf with equal Di and Advantage. He might have increaſed Strength, whilſt other Princes waſted theirs. might have been applied to as the Mediator, Arbitrator of the Chriſtian World; and have fo his Account in all the Wars and Negotiati without being a Party in them.——He did very contrary. A *Roſe*, bleſſed by the Pope; *Emperor* ſerving in his Army, and taking his P a whimſical Project of *Conqueſts*, never deſigned be made, and impoſſible to be kept, if They been made, were ſufficient to draw Him into moſt extravagant Engagements; in which He ways played *Gold* againſt *Counters*, with Allies, w

gener

erally played *Counters* againſt *Gold*. His Enements, of this Kind, became numberleſs, frently inconſiſtent, and ſo very raſh and unadd, that whilſt his Aim, or his Pretence, was to a *Ballance* between the great Powers of *Eu*, He more than once aſſiſted the *ſtrongeſt* to opthe *weakeſt*.—The Spring of all this ſtrange nduct lay in the private Intereſts and Paſſions *Wolſey*, who became his *firſt Miniſter* very y, and was his *Favourite* earlier. If *Henry the th* negotiated perpetually, and was perpetually Bubble of *Thoſe*, with whom and for whom negotiated, This happened chiefly becauſe He , in the firſt Place, the Bubble of his *Mini*.——*Wolſey*'s Avarice was fed, and his Amion flattered, by the *Emperor*; by the Court of *nce*; and by that of *Rome*, in their Turns. He ported Himſelf, in great Meaſure, *at home* by Opinion of his Credit *abroad*; and his *Maſter*'s vour to Him was ſtrengthen'd by the Art of *ſt*, whom He ſerved at his *Maſter*'s and his ntry's Expence. In ſhort, the Succeſs, or appointment of his *private Schemes* were the ges, on which the whole Policy of this Nation ned for twenty Years; and the groſſeſt Misnagement, obſtinately purſued, by the *Miniſter*, the Midſt of univerſal Diſapprobation, was ctified by the *King*.

The *King*, no Doubt, thought Himſelf as inible in the Choice of *Men*, as in the Choice of *eaſures*; and therefore, when He had once given Confidence to *Wolſey*, no Matter by what Incements, his *Preſumption* ſkreen'd the *Miniſter* m his Suſpicion.

It was eaſy for *Wolſey* to keep his *Maſter* from rkening to partieular Advice, or to the general Voice

Voice of the People; becauſe it was eaſy to p
ſuade him that he *wanted no Advice*; that *he c*
not be deceived, though his *People might*; and p
haps, that it was unbecoming a *great Prince*
alter his Meaſures, or withdraw his Favour,
the Clamours of the Publick. At the ſame Ti
we may fairly ſuppoſe (for the Monuments
Hiſtory will juſtify us in ſuppoſing) that the *B*
cher's Son was not ſuch a *Bungler*, nor render
by a *low Education*, ſo void of *Addreſs*, as not
know how to *inſinuate* without the Air of *adviſ*
and how to receive all his *own Suggeſtions* b
from his *Maſter*, in the Style of *Orders*, with
utmoſt Demonſtration of implicit Submiſſion
his Judgment, and abſolute Reſignation to
Will.

But however blind the *King* might be, the E
of the *People* continued open to *his* and *their*
Intereſt. The Diſcontent grew general; and
this general Diſcontent were owing the princi
Difficulties, which *Henry the eighth* met with,
ring the firſt half of his Reign.—As m
Complaiſance as he had been uſed to find in
Parliaments, he durſt not always demand Mo
of them, for the Support of his Enterprizes.
Miniſter ſoon put him upon the Expedient
raiſing it by his *own Authority*. But theſe Attem
were reſented warmly, and oppoſed ſo ſturd
even when the rough Name of a *Tax* was chan
into the ſofter Sound of a *Benevolence*, that the
was obliged to retract; to compound; to exc
himſelf; to diſavow his *Miniſter*; and to pard
all Thoſe, who had been concerned in *partic*
Inſurrections, from a Fear of *one*, which might
come *univerſal*.

No Prince could be more firmly ſeated on his hrone. No Prince could be leſs framed to brook pposition. No Prince could be leſs ſuſceptible Fear. And yet to this Point of Diſtreſs did *ry the eighth* bring himſelf, by truſting his *firſt iniſter* too much; and regarding the Senſe of his *ple* too little.——All Orders of Men concurred theſe Occaſions; and the *Merchants* ſignalized emſelves. Neither the Flattery, nor the Meces of *Wolſey* could prevail on them to be ſilent, hen they felt that *their own* and the *national Inreſts* were ſacrificed, or neglected, at every Turn. uch leſs could they be couzened ſo far as to exſe their Forunes in *Trade*, (the only Fortunes, hich *Merchants* acquired in thoſe Days) in order conceal the Blunder of a *Miniſter*, or to ſtop e Clamour againſt him. We find a remarkle Inſtance of this Behaviour of the *Merchants* in e Year 1528; when the Commerce of the *Low untries*, on which our *woollen Trade* depended incipally at that Time, was interrupted by a ar with the *Emperor*, which evidently took its iſe from no other Motive than a Pique of the *iniſter*.

The ill Succeſs of theſe *illegal Methods* obliged e King to have Recouſe to his *Parliament*; but s *Parliament* thought like his *People*; and the pposition given in the *Houſe of Commons* was ch as became the repreſentative Body of the ation. That, which happened in the Year 523, is worthy of particular Obſervation. It as not grounded only on the *Exorbitancy of the m demanded*, but likewiſe on the *Nature of the roice*, for which the Demand was made. As gh as *Prerogative* was carryed at this Time; and undiſputed a Point as the Power of the Crown

to make *War* and *Peace* might be; yet it is undeniable that the *Commons* would not give Money without knowing how it was to be employed, and that they proportioned their *Grants* to the Judgment they made of the Reaſonableneſs, or Unreaſonableneſs of the *Employment* deſigned. *Wolſey*, the moſt inſolent Miniſter our Nation has ſeen at *that Time*, was however ſo far from objecting to this Method of proceeding in the *Houſe of Commons*, that he opened to that Houſe, in a long Diſcourſe, the Reaſons of the *King's Meaſures*, as he affected to call his *own Meaſures*; and endeavoured to prove the Neceſſity of ſupporting them. Nay, when neither his *Rhetorick* could perſuade, nor his *Authority* influence, he offered to debate the whole Matter, and to anſwer the Objections of Thoſe, who oppoſed the *King*'s Deſires. The *Houſe* rejected his Offer; obſerved their Forms, maintained their Dignity. They diſapproved the War, wantonly undertaken, and in which the Intereſts of the Nation were not concerned. They ſhewed however their Regard to the *King*, by giving *ſome Part* of the Subſidy, and their Regard to the *Kingdom*, by refuſing, to the laſt, to give the *whole*.

As for the *Miniſter*, he received the Mortification, which he deſerved.——Theſe frequent Oppoſitions, on the Part of the *People* and the *Parliament*, were really made to the *Miniſter*. *Henry the eighth* ſeemed, on ſome Occaſions, to deſire that they ſhould be ſo underſtood, even before *Wolſey*'s Favour began to be in its Wain; and yet we ſhall have no Reaſon to be ſurprized, if we conſider the true Character of *this Prince*, that theſe very Oppoſitions prepared his Mind for receiving thoſe Leſſons, which *Wolſey* was ready to give him again

inſt *Liberty*, and in Favour of *arbitrary Power*.—*wicked Miniſter*, who neither gains, nor deſerves to gain, the *good Will* of a Nation, muſt ſecure, and will endeavour to revenge, Himſelf, by perſuading his *Maſter* to neglect it. *Force* and *Corruption* being the ſole Means, by which he can maintain his *Power*, and preſerve his *ill-gotten Wealth*, it is neceſſary for him that the *Prince*, whom He ſerves, ſhould look upon *Thoſe* as the ſole Expedients, by which Government can be ſupported. *Wolſey* purſued this abominable Scheme. *He looked upon the King's Subjects*, ſays Rapin, *as ſo many* Slaves; *and unfortunately for Them, He inſpired the* King *by Degrees with the ſame Principles*; *and inſinuated to Him, that He ought to conſider the* Parliament *only as an Inſtrument to execute his Will.*—These were the *Seeds* He ſowed; which fell on a rank Soil; and produced, in the latter Half of *Henry*'s Reign, ſuch bitter Fruit as this Nation never taſted before, nor ſince.———*Wolſey* had been the Scandal and the Scourge of his Country, whilſt he *lived*; and He continued to be ſo even in the *Grave*.

LETTER XI.

THE Divorce of *Henry the eighth* and *Catherine* of *Arragon* begins a new and moſt memorable Æra in the general Hiſtory of *England*; and indeed of all *Europe*. It is the Beginning likewiſe of a new Period in the particular Reign, of which We are ſpeaking.——— A King, who had been till now the great Aſſertor of the Authority of the *Pope*, and the great Defender of the

Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, undertakes t
deſtroy the *former* in his Dominions, and gives ſe
veral incurable Wounds to the *latter*.——A King
whoſe whole Attention had been employed *abroa*
and in whoſe Time *there was no Treaty and alm*
Conventicle in Chriſtendom, *wherein He had not*
particular Agent and Intereſt, (as my Lord *Herb*
expreſſes Himſelf) becomes wholly taken up wi
domeſtick Affairs; and if He looks *abroad*, duri
the reſt of his Life, it is chiefly on Account
what paſſes *at home*.———He, who had connive
at *Seditions*, and pardoned *Inſurrections*, grows in
patient of the leaſt Contradiction.———He, wh
had often compounded with his *Parliaments*, an
ſubmitted to them on many Occaſions, dictat
all their Proceedings; and the Voice of the *La*
is little elſe than the Eccho of the Voice of t
King.—In ſhort; He, who had been led, amuſe
governed by his *Miniſter*, drives, over-bears, tyra
nizes; butchers his *Servants* and his *Wives*,
Commons and his *Nobility*.

When *Henry the eighth* firſt engaged in the Affa
of the *Divorce*, He could not foreſee the Conſ
quences of it; becauſe He certainly did not expe
the Difficulties, which gave Occaſion to the
He went on during the two firſt Years, in t
beaten Road, by which ſo many others had go
before to the ſame End; and He ſeemed to ha
no View beſides That of employing the Author
of *one Pope* to undo what the Authority of *anot*
Pope had done. Nay, after *Cranmer* had beg
to open other Views to Him, He ſeemed ſtill
cling to *Rome*; reſolved to ſucceed any Way; b
deſirous to ſucceed that Way.———Happy w
it that He took his Meaſures no better, and th
He was no better ſerved on this Occaſion than
ma

many others! ——— He ſuffered himſelf to be muſed by *Clement the ſeventh*, the leaſt ſcrupulous Man alive; and who would have *divorced* Him, r have done any other pontifical Job for Him, if he *League* formed to reduce the *Emperor*'s Power n *Italy* had ſucceeded. But the *Emperor*'s Power here continuing to prevail, the *Pope* concluded is Treaty with *this Prince* on the moſt advantaeous Terms. He obtained that favourite Point, or which He would have ſacrificed not only the nterests of *Henry the eighth*, but even Thoſe of the *Papacy* itſelf. I mean the Re-eſtabliſhment of he Family of *Medicis* on the Ruins of the *Florenine* Liberty. The Loſs of *Genoa*, the total Deſtruction of the *French* Army in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and ſeveral other Conſiderations, induced *Francis the firſt* to make his Peace with the *Emperor* likewiſe, and to ſubmit to the Treaty of *Cambray*.

Thus did *Henry the eighth* find himſelf at once diſappointed in the Expectations He had been made to entertain from the Court of *Rome*, and deſtitute of all foreign Aſſiſtance; *Francis* being the only Ally, of whom He could avail himſelf to influence the Councils of *Rome*, in Oppoſition to the *Emperor*.

In this State of Affairs, *Henry* reſorted to That, which will be always the beſt and ſureſt Reſerve of a King of *Great Britain*; the Inclinations, and Affections of his *People*. He had not the Trouble of diſpoſing them, for He found them already diſpoſed, to his Purpoſes. The Spirit, raiſed by *Wickliffe*, about two Centuries before, againſt the Uſurpations of the *Pope* and the *Clergy*, was ſtill alive. The Sufferings of the *Lollards*, as his Followers were called, had not abated it. The *Art of*

Printing had been propagated; and the late S
ceſs of *Luther* had encouraged it. There w
Multitudes therefore, in all Parts of the Kingdo
who deſired a compleat Reformation of the *Chur*
both in *Doctrine* and in *Diſcipline*. Others ag
were content that the *Papal Authority*, grievous
its Nature, and ſcandalous in its Exercife, as w
as the extravagant Power and impertinent I
munities of the *Clergy*, ſhould be taken away. B
they meant to go no farther. Many would n
go even ſo far as This; but were ſtill Slaves
all their Prejudices; and remained, in the Mi
of this Defection, attached to the *Pope*, as well
to the corrrupted Doctrine, and the depraved D
cipline of the *Church*.

Whilſt the *Divorce* was ſollicited at *Rome*, a
the Proceedings, relating to it, were carried on
the Direction, and under the Anthority of t
Pope, it was the *King*'s Affair; it was the Affa
of his *Miniſters*. But when it appeared impra
ticable in this Method, and *Henry* reſolved, in o
der to accompliſh it in another, to deliver himſ
and his People from the Yoke of *Rome*; the Affa
of the *Divorce* became a *national Affair*, and t
Cauſe of the *King* became the Cauſe of his *Subject*
As He proceeded in it, He was encouraged
proceed. The Concurrence of his *People* gre
every Day more general, and He was ſupport
with the greateſt Warmth. He ſoon held th
Clergy at his Mercy; and the *Popiſh Party* w
broken and terrified, if not entirely cruſhed.

During this eager Purſuit after *eccleſiaſtical L*
berty, a Power very dangerous to *civil Liberty* w
erected. We obſerved before that the *Prerogati*
had been *carried high*, and *extended wide*, in the Rei
of *Henry the eighth*, who obtained much by *La*
an

d obtained more by his Manner of *conſtruing* and *ecuting* the Law. His Son, parting with none his Authority, and improving the Conjuncture as to acquire a great deal more, acquired ſo uch at laſt, that the Power of the *Crown* exeeded by far that Proportion, which is conſiſtent ith the Security of *publick Liberty*, and *private roperty*. It is true, indeed, that He always took are to have the *Law* on his Side; and would neher venture on the Exerciſe of *Acts of Power* gainſt it, or without it. His Experience, in e *former* Part of his Reign, had taught him the anger of ſuch a Conduct; and, in the *latter* art, he had no Occaſion to purſue it. The Oinion of the Nation went along with him now; nd, as exorbitant as his Demands frequently ere, his *Parliaments* refuſed Him nothing. At ne Time, They gave up to him, in a great Degree, the *legiſlative Authority*; and his *Proclamaons* were made, under ſome Reſtrictions, equialent to *Acts of Parliament*. At another Time, hey aſcribed to Him a Sort of *Infallibility*; and *Letters Patent*, under the great Seal, were made eceſſary to determine the *Articles of Faith*, which Men were to believe fully, and the *Doctrines*, *Rites* nd *Ceremonies*, which they were to obſerve and ractice, under ſeveral Penalties.——The ſuſpiious State of Affairs *abroad* was amplified to give Pretence to *one* of theſe Laws; and the conuſed State of Religion *at home*, and the claſhing f Parties about it, might afford ſome Colour to he *other*.———The Truth is, that any Pretence erved, at this Time, to grant whatever the King deſired; a ſtronger Inſtance of which caanot be magined than That of the *Subſidy*, obtained in the Year 1540. *Henry* had got immenſe Riches

by the *firſt* and *ſecond Suppreſſion of Monaſteries*, principal Inducement to the *laſt*, which was like wiſe the *greateſt*, was This; that the *King* mig be enabled, without taxing the People, to d ſend them againſt ſuch *Invaſions*, as the Court h been pleaſed to ſuppoſe; and with the Rumo of which the Nation had been purpoſely alarme Theſe *Invaſions* did not happen. *Henry* continu in Peace with all his Neighbours; and yet, t very next Year, he not only accepted from t Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, with t Approbation of Parliament, a Grant of the *fi Part* of their Revenue; but he demanded a *Su ſidy* likewiſe of the Houſe of Commons. So e travagant a Demand could not but meet wi ſome Oppoſition. The *Subſidy* however was gran ed in as large a Proportion, as if the Nation h been engaged in a *dangerous War*. The Reaſo for granting it were almoſt burleſque. It was a firmed, *by the King's Party, that He had laid o vaſt Sums in ſecuring the Coaſts; and that the ke ing his Subjects in* Peace *and* Plenty *coſt Him mo than the moſt* burthenſome War.——Thus *Precedent* was made of converting into *ordina Aids* of the Government thoſe *heavy Taxes*, whic ought never to be felt by the People, unleſs upo the *moſt extraordinary Occaſions*. That they oug to be laid in Time of *War*, neither was, n ever could be doubted. That they were equal neceſſary in Time of *Peace*, was now eſtabliſh by the Logick of the *Court*; and we may be ſu that the Argument would have been urged wi ſtill more Force and Effect, if the Nation h fallen, by the Management of the Courtiers that Age, into ſuch a Situation as could neith

e called properly a *State of War*, or a *State of eace.*

The abſolute Power, which *Henry the eighth* exrciſed over the Purſes, Lives, Liberties and Conciences of his People, was due to the intire Inuence, which he had gain'd over the *Parliament*; nd this Dependency of the *two Houſes* on the *ing* did, in Effect, eſtabliſh *Tyranny by Law.*—— we look for the *true Cauſe* of this Dependency, e ſhall find it, as *Rapin* hath very judiciouſly obrved, in thoſe Diviſions of the Nation, concernng *Religion*, which I have mentioned above.—— he *Party*, which oppoſed *all Reformation*, by a igotted Attachment to the Diſcipline, as well as octrine of the Church of *Rome*, furniſhed the ing with as many Pretences for graſping at Pow, and ſqueezing Money out of his People, as *mbition* could wiſh, or *Profuſion* require.—— he *other two Parties* concurred with the *King*, nd went together to a certain Point; That is, throw off the *papal Yoke*, and to leſſen the ower of the *Clergy*. But here they ſeparated, nd went different Ways; *one* to carry the *Reforation forward*; and the *other* to ſtop it, where it *en ſtood*; whilſt the *King* ſeemed to keep in a midle Way between them both.——Sometimes, e ſeemed to favour *Thoſe*, whoſe Principles led em to an *intire Reformation*; and he touched the *octrine*, though with a gentler Hand than the *iſcipline* of the Church.——Sometimes, he ppeared zealous for the *Doctrine*, and even for me Part of the *Diſcipline*; and the Manner, in hich he often executed that bloody Statute, the *aw of ſix Articles*, would incline one to think hat he joined to his *political Conſiderations* a Tincure of *religious Prejudice* on theſe Heads. But how-

however That was, certain it is that the Hope which each of these *two Parties* entertained of t *King*, and the Fears, which they entertained *one another*, occasioned their continual *Bidding* fo him, if I may be allowed to use such an Expre sion. This Emulation formed then, what it a ways must form, the most dangerous Conjunctu to which *Liberty* can be exposed. When the M tives of contending Parties are founded on *prin Ambition* and *Avarice*, the Danger is great. Ho much greater must it be, when these Motives a founded on *Religion* likewise; when the He and Hearts of both Sides are heated even to E thusiasm; when *this Spirit* mingles itself with t *Spirit of Faction*; so that some through Folly, a some through Knavery, are ready to sacrifice pu *lick Liberty* to their particular Schemes of *Religion*

In such Circumstances as these was this Natio when *Henry the eighth* died; and if he had left Son and Successor, of full Age, and bold and ente prizing like himself, our *Liberties* had been ir trievably lost, according to all Appearances.— *Henry the eighth*, by applying to his *Parliaments* f the extraordinary Powers, which he exercise and by taking these Powers for such Terms, a under such Restrictions, as the *Parliament* im posed, owned indeed sufficiently that they did n belong of Right to the *Crown*. He owned lik wise, in Effect, more than any Prince, who we before him, how absolutely the Disposition of t Crown of *England*, belongs to the People of E *land*, by procuring so many different and oppos Settlements of it to be made in *Parliament*; a yet Tyranny was actually established. The Fre dom of our Government might flourish in Spec lation; but certainly it did not subsist in Practi

—In the Caſe therefore ſuppoſed above, our ore-fathers would very ſoon have found how fa- l it is, in any Circumſtances, by any Means, or nder any Pretences, to admit Incroachments on ie Conſtitution; and how vain it is, when theſe ncroachments are once admitted, for the Service ſome preſent Turn, to preſcribe Limitations to e Exerciſe, or Duration of them.

But Providence directed the Courſe of Things etter, and broke thoſe Shackles, which we had rged for ourſelves. A *Minority* followed this tur- ulent Reign; the Government was weak; the overnors divided; and the Temper of the Peo- le ſuch as made it prudent to ſooth them. This e Duke of *Somerſet* did, out of Inclination, and e Duke of *Northumberland*, out of Policy. To e *former* we owe not only the compleat Eſta- liſhment of the Church of *England* on the Ruins *Popery*, but the firſt and great Steps, which ere made to reſtore a *free Government*. In the ery firſt Year of his Adminiſtration, ſeveral Acts, hich had paſſed in the Reign of *Henry the eighth*, nd in ſome preceding Reigns, grievous to the eople, and deſtructive of *Liberty*, were repeal'd: nd among others that abſurd Act, which gave *Proclamations* the Force of *Laws*. The *Law of e ſix Articles* was likewiſe repeal'd. Others were xplained; and ſeveral *new Laws* were made in vour of *civil*, as well as *eccleſiaſtical Liberty*; both which got ſo much Strength, in the Reign of *dward the ſixth*, that they were able to ſtand the ort but violent Shock of Queen *Mary*'s Reign. his Princeſs lived long enough to confirm, not deſtroy, our Religion by *Perſecution*. The ill- oncerted Inſurrection of *Wyat* gave Strength to e *Faction*, which prevailed at Court, and diſ-

couraged, for ſome Time, all Oppoſition; nay the Methods taken to influence the *Elections*, and to gain by *Corruption* the Members, who were choſen, were carried on ſo openly, that the *Price* for which each Man ſold himſelf, was publickly known. No wonder then if the *papal Authority* was reſtored, and the *Queen*'s Marriage with *Philip the ſecond* approved. But this State of Things could not laſt long, nor was the Nation diſpoſed to bear a continual Sacrifice of her Intereſt to *Rome* and *Spain*.

The *Parliament*, corrupt as it was, began to revolt againſt the *Court*. The *Spirit of Liberty* revived; and that Spirit, and the Spirit of Reformation in *Religion*, had made more Progreſs than was readily perceived. This Progreſs had been made principally among the *Commons*; and therefore, though the Authority of the Crown, of the Council, and of the great Lords kept up other Appearances; yet there was a ſecret Fire burning which muſt and would have broke out. The Effects of the Cauſes, laid in the Reign of *Henry the ſeventh*, began now to appear. The Lands of the *Nobility* were leſſened, and Thoſe of the *Commons* increaſed. *Trade* had been encouraged for ſeveral Years. We ſee that ſome Care had been taken of it, even in the troubleſome Times of *Edward the fourth*, and very much was done towards the Advancement of it in the Reigns of *Henry the ſeventh* and *Henry the eighth*. The *Weſt-Indies* had been diſcovered about half a Century before; and Part of the immenſe Treaſures, which flowed from thence into *Europe*, began to increaſe the Profits; and, increaſing the Profits, to increaſe the Induſtry of our Merchants. *Henry the eighth* had ſold a very great Part of the *Church Lands* at low

Prices

ices, on purpoſe to engage the Body of the Na-
n in one common Intereſt againſt the *Romiſh*
ergy. The Commons had made their Uſe of
is Strain of Policy, and had got into very great
ſtates in *Lands*, by Theſe as well as by other
eans; ſo that the *King*, the *Lords* and the
hurch, who had formerly held ſo great an Over-
llance of Property in *Land*, had now little
ore than one *Third* of the Whole belonging to
em; the Conſequences of which were not fore-
en by Queen *Mary*; neither did ſhe live long e-
ough to feel them in any great Degree. They
d not eſcape the Penetration of her *Siſter*. She
reſaw them; and the great Glory and Happi-
eſs of her Reign may juſtly be attributed to this
rſt Principle; that ſhe had the Wiſdom to diſ-
rn not only the actual Alteration, which was
ready made, but the growing Alteration, which
ould every Day increaſe in the State of *Property*;
at ſhe accommodated at once the whole Syſtem
f her Government to this great Change; and
nſtead of depending upon *Expedients*, which were
ow no longer of Seaſon, choſe the *ſole Expedient*,
hat remained, for making herſelf and her People
appy; which was to place the whole Strength
nd Security of her Government in the *Affections*
f her People, and in her ſuperior *Credit* with
hem.

LETTER XII.

WE have now brought theſe Remarks on the *Engliſh Hiſtory* not only down to Times
little remote from our own; but to a Period,
when the Monarchy ſettled on a new Foundation;
upon

upon which it ſtill continues and reſts more firm
than ever at this Hour. The Obſervations the
fore, which remain to be made, in order to
luſtrate what hath been advanced, concerning
Spirit of Liberty and the *Spirit of Faction*, will
theſe Reaſons be the more appoſite, the more
fecting, and by Conſequence the more uſeful; b
for theſe Reaſons likewiſe, it is probable that th
will become the Occaſions of louder Complain
and of more impertinent Clamour.——We ſh
be ſincerely ſorry for This; becauſe We look
the *Alarm*, which hath been taken at our Ende
vours to revive the *Spirit*, and to confirm and pr
pagate the *Doctrines of Liberty*, in a Countr
where *Liberty* is ſtill avowed, and under a G
vernment, eſtabliſhed on the *Principles of Liber*
as a moſt ſuſpicious and melancholy Sympto
But the ſtronger this Symptom appears, the mo
incumbent We ſhall think it upon us to purſue t
honeſt Deſign, to which We have devoted ou
ſelves with Conſtancy and Vigour.

The *ſhameleſs Crew*, who write againſt the
Country, as they would write againſt their G
for Hire, ſhall have little Regard from us. T
ſcandalous Licence, with which They have pr
ſumed to draw *odious Parallels*, and the Impudenc
with which They have imputed theſe *Parallels*
us, have been abundantly expoſed already. T
few, the very few Things, which they have a
ledged in Point of *Fact*, or *Argument*, have be
often anſwered; perhaps too often, conſideri
how little Weight They carried with Them, an
how little Impreſſion They were capable of mak
ing on the Underſtanding, even of *Thoſe*, who h
other Reaſons for inclining to that Side of the Que
tion. The Ribaldry, which *theſe Scribblers* em
plo

y, hath been and will continue to be deſpiſed, anſwered. It cannot be expected that we ould take Notice of every little, frivolous, ildiſh, *Declamation*, which appears in publick, wever ſome Perſons may demean themſelves by tending to admire them. The *Menaces* affecly and inſolently thrown out on *one Side*, and *Flattery*, ſervilely offered on the *other*, are eally Objects of our Contempt; and if We take ittle Notice of *the former*, once for all, before e proceed any farther in theſe *Remarks*, it is rely becauſe We cannot underſtand them to be Language of *theſe Writers*. When They talk this Style, They ſpeak the Language of HIM, o guides their Pens, and who is known to reard their Labours. To *Him* therefore it may t be improper to addreſs ourſelves in the follow- Manner.

"The *Perſons*, whom you threaten, Sir, neither value your Favour, nor fear your Anger. Whenever you attempt any *Act of Power* againſt any of them, you ſhall find that you have to do with Men, who know they have not offended the *Law*; and therefore truſt they have not offended the *King*; who know They are ſafe, as long as the *Laws* and *Liberties* of their Country are ſo; and who are ſo little deſirous of being ſafe any longer, that they would be the firſt to bury themſelves in the Ruins of the *Britiſh* Conſtitution, if *You*, or any *Miniſter*, as deſperate as *You*, ſhould be able to deſtroy it. But let us aſk, on this Occaſion, what *You* are, who who thus preſume to threaten?——Are you not *One*, whoſe Meaſure of *Folly* and *Iniquity* is full; who can neither hold, nor quit his Power with Impunity; and over whoſe Head the

"long

" long-gathering Cloud of national Vengeance
" ready to burſt?———Is it not Time for *Y*
" Sir, inſtead of threatening to attack *others*,
" conſider how ſoon *You* may be attacked *Yourſe*
" ———How many Crimes may be charged u
" on *You* and *Yours*, which almoſt every Man c
" prove; and how many more are ready to ſt
" into Light, as ſoon as the Power, by whi
" *You* now conceal them, ſhall determine?—
" When next *You* meditate Revenge on your *A*
" *verſaries*, remember this Truth. *The* La
" *muſt be deſtroyed, before* They *can ſuffer, or* Y
" *eſcape.*"

Let us now return to our Subject.———In t
early Days of our Government, after the *Norm*
Invaſion, the Commons of *England* were rath
formidable in their *collective*, than conſiderable
their *repreſentative Body*; by their *Numbers* in e
traordinary Emergencies, rather than by th
Weight in the ordinary Courſe of Governme
In later Days, they began to acquire ſome of t
Weight by Degrees. They repreſented *Grievance*
They gave, or refuſed *Subſidies*; and they exe
ciſed, in a regular, ſenatorial Manner, the Pow
ers lodged in them by the Conſtitution; but ſt
they did not obtain the *intire Weight*, till they we
wholly emancipated; and they were not ſo, t
the *great Change*, which we are ſpeaking of, ha
pened. Before this Time, they had too much
the Dependency of *Tenants*; and the *King*, the N
bility and the *Clergy* had too much of the Superi
rity of *Landlords*. This Dependency of the *Com*
mons, added to That, which the *Crown* frequent
found Means of creating, either by influencin
their *Elections*, or by corrupting their *Repreſent*
tives, (notwithſtanding all the *Proviſions* made
gain

inſt it, which we have touch'd in a * former per) kept this Part of the Legiſlature in ſuch a ate, as made it unable fully to anſwer the End its Inſtitution; and the Syſtem of our Governent was by Conſequence, in this Reſpect, deective.

Could *Henry the ſeventh* have found Means, as reduced the *Nobility* lower, to have hindered *Commons* from riſing higher; could He have ened a Way to the Diminution of the Property the *Lords*, and have prevented that Increaſe of ſame Property amongſt the *Commons*, to which the contrary, he gave Occaſion, and which ime and Accidents conſpired to bring about; *Ballance* of this Government would have been ally loſt, though the *outward Forms* of it had en preſerved. Our *Liberty* would have been loſt Conſequence; and our *Kings*, with an *Houſe Lords* and an *Houſe of Commons*, and all the Apearances of *limited Monarchs*, might have been as *bitrary* as thoſe Princes are, who govern Counes, where no ſuch Conſtitution prevails. The eaſon of This will appear plain to Thoſe, who member what hath been obſerved, in ſome of r former Papers, that *a dependent Exerciſe of the wers, lodged in the two Houſes of Parliament*, will danger, and may, more effectually than any oer Expedient, deſtroy *Liberty*; and that the eſervation of our Freedom is no Way to be ſeured but by a *free* and *independent Exerciſe of theſe owers*. Now, *ſuch an Exerciſe* could not have ntinued, much leſs have been improved, if *Hen- the ſeventh* had been able, at the ſame Time, weaken his *Nobility*, and to keep his *Commons* from

* See the *Craftſman*, No. 225.

from acquiring new Strength. But This was i
practicable. At leaſt, it was not attempt
Henry the ſeventh haſtened to the Cure of that E
which preſſed him moſt, the Power of the *Nobi*
as his *Son* ſoon afterwards effectually reduced
exorbitant Power of the *Clergy*; and in pull
down theſe Powers, which, as they were con
tuted, and had been exerciſed, hurt the *Cr*
more than they ſerved the *People*, theſe Princes
came the Inſtruments of raiſing *another Po*
which is the beſt, if not the ſole effectual Ba
againſt Uſurpations of illegal, and Abuſes of
gal Prerogatives; and which, at the ſame Ti
can never be applied to do any real Hurt to
Crown, unleſs in Caſes where it is bent and for
to do this Hurt by the *Crown* itſelf, in the
Place, againſt the natural Tendency and Dire
on of it.

This Increaſe of the Property of the *Comm*
by taking off from them a *conſtant Dependenc*
one Sort, and by rendering them leſs obnoxiou
an *occaſional Dependency* of another, gave gre
Dignity, and added greater Weight, in the
lance of Government, to their *repreſentative B*
The *Houſe of Commons* became more power
without the Attribution of any *new Powers*,
purely by the different Manner, in which t
Independency, the Effect of their *Property*, enab
them to exerciſe the *ſame Powers*, which they
joyed before. A Concert with a *few great Lo*
and a *few leading Prelates*, was now no longer
ficient to guide the Senſe of *Parliament*, and
eſtabliſh the Meaſures of *Government*; no, not e
in Caſes, where this Concert might be exten
to ſome of the *Commons* Themſelves. Intri
and Cabal became unneceſſary, when the *nati*

ereſt was wiſely purſued; and ineffectual, when was not. The Way was open to gain the *Par-ment*, by gaining the *Nation*; but to impoſe on *Nation*, by gaining the *Parliament* was hard; the *Weight without Doors* determined, in thoſe ys, the *Weight within*. The ſame Cauſes, ich rendered the *Houſe of Commons* more con-erable to the *Court*, to the *Nobility*, to the *Clergy*, the *Commons* themſelves, rendered likewiſe the ole Body of the *Commons* of more Importance to *ſe*, who were choſen to repreſent them. Be-es which, the Frequency of *new Elections*, ich was deemed an honourable Burthen, gave Nation frequent Opportunities of modelling *repreſentative Body*, according to the Intereſts Inclinations of the *collective Body*. From nce it followed, that that Credit and Influence the *Nation*, which can only be acquired and ſerved by adhering to the *national Intereſt*, be-me the ſole Means of maintaining a laſting Cre- and Influence in the *Houſe of Commons*; upon ich the Harmony of Government, and the Hap-eſs of *Prince* and *People* depended more than r.

Thus were we brought back, in Times very di-nt, and in Circumſtances very different, to the *inciples of Government*, which had prevailed a-ngſt our *Saxon* Anceſtors, before they left *rmany*. Whatever particular Pre-eminences, Powers, were veſted in the *principal Men*, the at Affairs of State were directed by the *whole dy of the Nation*.———*De* minoribus *Principes*, majoribus *omnes*.

Such were the natural Effects of this *new Settle-nt*; and thus our *limited Monarchy* became ca-ble of as much Perfection, as Wiſdom and fa-

vour-

vourable Accidents can communicate to any hu
Inſtitution; for can We raiſe our Ideas of
Kind of Perfection higher than ordering the
tribution of *Property* and *Power* in ſuch a Man
that the Privileges of the *People*, and the Pren
tive of the *Crown*, cannot be taken away, u
with their *own Conſent*, or by their *own Fa*
Now to this Point of Perfection was the C
ſtitution of our Government brought, and fa
it could not be brought; becauſe it is impo
to ſecure either *Prince*, or *People* againſt *Themſ*
or againſt the Effects of their *own Conduct*.

One Part of what hath been ſaid upon this
ject will not, I think, be diſputed. The
perhaps, may ſeem a Paradox; and a Settlem
which rendered our Government more *democra*
will not be readily allowed to have been adva
geous to the *Crown*, though it muſt be allowe
have been ſo to the *People*. ——— Let us exa
therefore whether it was really ſo, or not.

In all *limited Monarchies*, and we are not ſpea
of any other, the Power of preſerving *theſe L*
tations muſt be placed ſomewhere. The Que
therefore is, whether it can be placed more ad
tageouſly, even for the *Crown* as well as the *P*
than in the *whole Body of the Nation*.

Whilſt the *Commons* had not *Property* enou
have any Share in *this Power*, the ſole Ch
which could be oppoſed to the Incroachmen
the *Crown*, was the Power of the *Barons* an
the *Clergy*. But theſe two Orders of Men
their particular Intereſts, frequently oppoſit
each other, and to Thoſe of the *People*, as well
Thoſe of the *Crown*; ſo that they were not
very incapable of forming a ſecure Barrier to
berty, but their Power became terrible and
ge

ous to the *Crown* itſelf. They ſlided eaſily into
tion. They often incroached on the *Prince's*
thority, whilſt they reſiſted his Incroachments,
or pretended, on their own Privileges; and
er the plauſible Veil of *Law*, or *Goſpel*, private
bition had a greater Share than publick Liberty
their Conteſts. It is true that, during theſe
nteſts, *Magna Charta* was ſigned and confirmed;
the Condition of the People, in Point of *Li-*
y, very much improved. But This was the
idental Effect of the Conteſts between the
gs, the *Barons* and the *Clergy*, as We have re-
rked in ſpeaking of thoſe Times, and not the
tural Effects of the *Property* and *Power* lodged
the *Barons* and the *Clergy*. The *Commons*
re courted by all Sides, becauſe they were wan-
by all. Had they been Bubbles enough to
k on the *Nobility* and *Clergy* as the proper Guar-
ns of *Liberty*, and to have adhered to Them
ordingly, they might indeed have avoided be-
Slaves to their *Kings*, but they wouly have ren-
ed both their *Kings* and *Themſelves* little leſs than
ves to their *temporal* and *ſpiritual Lords*.

After the Reigns of *Edward the firſt*, and *Ed-*
rd the third, *Power* came to be better poized,
our Government took a more regular Form.
e Prerogatives of our *Kings*, and the Privileges
our *Nobility*, the Authority and Immunity of
Church, and the Rights of the *People*, were
re aſcertained; and yet, after this Time, the
me Obſervations will hold good in a very great
gree. It is certain that the vaſt Over-ballance
Property and *Power*, which ſtill continued in
Nobility and *Clergy*, inſtead of preventing,
tening, or ſhortening the Calamities, which
owed, helped to form and maintain thoſe *Fac-*

tions,

tions, which began, renewed, fomented the C
Wars of *York* and *Lancaſter*, as well as the wic
Conduct of *Richard the ſecond*, and the weak C
duct of *Henry the ſixth*. Redreſs of Grievan
and ſufficient Security againſt them for the fut
might have ſatisfied the *People*, if they had b
left to Themſelves; but nothing leſs than Re
lutions of Government could ſatisfy the *Fact*
into which the great Men were divided, and
which They divided the Nation, by their Influe
over the *People*, and by the Advantages, w
the ill Conduct of the *Yorkiſts* and *Lancaſt*
gave to each other.

Thus We ſee how unſafely for the *Crown*,
well as inſecurely for the People, that *Property*
Power, which is neceſſary to preſerve the *Li*
tions of our Monarchy, was placed before the Ti
when that *great Change* in the one and the o
happened, which makes the Subject of this
courſe. But as ſoon as *this Change* did happen,
Crown was no longer expoſed to the ſame Miſch

When the *little Power*, which *Henry the fe*
of France had in the Town of *Rochelle*, was ob
ted to Him, He made an Anſwer worthy of
heroick Spirit. *I do*, ſaid He, *all I deſire to do t*
in doing nothing but what I ought. —— This
deration of Temper is, in all Governments, the
and, in *limited Monarchies*, the only ſure and
rable Foundation of *Power*. By preventing
louſy in the *People* of the *Prince*, it takes awa
Advantage againſt his Government from *Fact*
and the more watchful the *People* are over t
Liberties, the more ſenſible will they be of *this*
deration, and the more grateful for it. *Fa*
proceeds always without *Reaſon*; but it can h
ly ever ſucceed without *Pretence*, and ſuffic

Prete

tence will hardly be found under ſuch a Go-
nment.

When a Prince, who manifeſts this *Moderation* Temper, purſues the true Intereſt of his *People*, ſuffers no *other Intereſt* to come into any De- of Competition with it, far from being the ject of their *Jealouſy*, he will be the principal ject of their *Affection*; and if he joins to this racter of *Goodneſs* That of *Ability*, He will be principal Object of their *Confidence* likewiſe. ſe are the ſtrongeſt Chains, by which a *People* be bound to their *Prince*; eaſier indeed, but ſtronger than Thoſe of *Adamant*, by which *yſius* the elder boaſted that He had ſecured the anny of *Syracuſe* to his Son; *Force*, *Fear*, *a ltitude of Troops*, *and a Guard of ten thouſand barians*. ——— A Prince, who eſtabliſhes his vernment on the Principles of *Affection*, hath y Thing to hope and nothing to fear from his ple. A Prince, who eſtabliſhes his Govern- t on any *other Principles*, acts in Contradiction the very End of his Inſtitution. What Objec- therefore could be made, even on the Part of *Crown*, to a Settlement of *Property* and *Power*, ch put the Guardianſhip of *Liberty* into ſuch nds as never did, nor never will invade the Pre- ative and Authority of the *Crown*, whilſt they employed to thoſe Purpoſes, for which alone were intruſted? It is confeſſed, that if a Prince uld attempt to eſtabliſh his Government on any *Principles* than Theſe; if he ſhould chuſe to nd rather on *deceiving*, *corrupting*, or *forcing* People, than on gaining their *Affection* and *fidence*; He might feel the Weight of their *perty* and *Power* very heavy in the Scale againſt n. But then it muſt be confeſſed likewiſe, that,

in

in ſuch a Caſe, this Oppoſition of the *P* would be juſt; and that the *Prince*, not the *Pe* would be anſwerable to Himſelf and his Fam to God and to Man, for all the ill Conſequen which might follow.

We hope that We have ſaid nothing, in or to ſhew the Excellency of our *Conſtitution*, a ſettled about the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, wh is not agreeable to Reaſon; and ſure We are the Truth of theſe general Propoſitions will confirmed by the particular Examples, which to follow. — The Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* be one continued Proof, that the Power of pre ving the *Limitations* of a Monarchy cannot placed better, for a *good* and *wiſe Prince*, tha the *whole Body of the People*; and that the *Spir Liberty* will give greater Strength, as well as cure greater Eaſe, to the Government of ſu Prince, than any abſolute Monarch can hop find in the moſt *abject Spirit*, which Principl *blind Submiſſion* and *paſſive Obedience* are capab inſpiring. — The *Reigns* immediately ſuccee *This*, will be one continued Proof, that when the Power of the *People* hath been exerciſed ag the *Crown*, it hath been owing primarily to weak Management and Obſtinacy of the *C* and to the unhappy Choice, which *thoſe Pr* made of governing by *Factions*, in Oppoſitio the Senſe and Intereſt of the *Nation*. F whence it will follow that the great Calami which befel our Country, in the Middle of laſt Century, are unjuſtly charged on the *Spir Liberty*, or on the *Nature of the* Britiſh *Conſtit* of *Government*.

CHA

LETTER XIII.

THERE is no Part of our Annals, nor perhaps of the Annals of any other Country, ich deſerves to be more ſtudied, or to be oftner ed to Remembrance, both by Thoſe, who go-n, and by Thoſe, who are governed, than the ign of Queen *Elizabeth*. We ſhall not how-r deſcend into all the Obſervations, which ffords; nor even into all Thoſe, which might perly ſerve to our preſent Purpoſe.

In ſome * Papers We made a few Remarks on *Reign*, and on that of King *James the firſt*. apprehend that the Contraſte between Them eared very ſtrong on that Occaſion. This ntraſte will probably appear ſtill much ſtronger, by Conſequence be the more inſtructive, when *Remarks*, and *Theſe* We are going to make, e to center in one ſingle Point; to ſhew that Conduct of Queen *Elizabeth*, under great Diſ-antages, produced all the good Effects, which *nce*, or *People* could deſire; becauſe it was ely ſuited to the Nature of our *Government*; ereas the Conduct of King *James the firſt*, o had many and great Advantages, which his deceſſor wanted, made his Reign grievous to *People*, uneaſy to *Himſelf*, and acceſſory to e Misfortunes, which befel his *Son*; becauſe was ill-ſuited to the Nature of our *Government*, d founded on Principles deſtructive of *Liberty*.

* See the *Craftſman*, No. 137, 138, 139.

Few Princes (no, not even her Cotempor *Henry the fourth of France*) have been ever raise a Throne under more diſadvantageous Circu ſtances, or have been ſurrounded in it with m complicated Difficulties, than Queen *Elizabeth*. Let us take a general Survey of them.

The Diviſion and Animoſity of *Parties* been carried to the Height of religious R The Cruelty of Queen *Mary*'s Reign, in wh much *proteſtant Blood* had been ſhed, and That of her *Siſter* with Difficulty ſpared, rend of courſe the *perſecuting Side* more deſperate, the *other* more exaſperated. It is hard to imag that Queen *Elizabeth* had been able to culti many perſonal Attachments to herſelf, before came to the Crown; except That of Sir *Wi Cecil*, afterwards Lord *Burleigh*, and perhaps or two more. Her Impriſonment for a Time, the great Conſtraint, under which ſhe lived ring her *Siſter*'s whole Reign, gave her little portunity for it; and the jealous Eye, with wh *Gardiner* and other eccleſiaſtical Zealots obſe her Conduct, made it dangerous to attempt it

In general, the *Proteſtants* deſired her Succeſſ and the *Papiſts* feared it. But the *former* under Oppreſſion, and even a Kind of Proſcript The *latter* had the whole Authority of the *Ch* and the *State* in their Hands, in *this Kingdom*; That of *Ireland*, bigotted to Popery, and pron Rebellion, was at their Devotion. —— The *teſtants* themſelves were divided; and Th who meant equally a *Reformation*, fell into the moſt Aſperity againſt each other, concerning *Manner* of making it, and the *Point*, to whic ought to be carried, on account of *Religion* as as of *Policy*.

In this divided State, and in the Ferment, which ch Diviſions muſt neceſſarily cauſe, Queen *Eli-beth* found the People, whom ſhe came to govern. rely, a more nice and perilous State can hardly imagined; eſpecially for Her, who was led by clination, and determined by particular Circum-nces of Intereſt, to eſtabliſh the *Reformation*; hat is, to declare for the *weakeſt*, though not the *ſt numerous Party*.

It is obſerved (I think by *Nathaniel Bacon* in his *ſtorical* and *political Diſcourſes*) that the Methods ken by *Henry the ſeventh* to accumulate Treaſure, ade a *rich King* indeed, but did not inrich the *rown*. His *Son* had ſeveral Opportunities of do-g both; inſtead of which He impoveriſhed *Him-f*, the *Crown*, and the *People*, by all the Methods, hich the moſt wanton Profuſion could invent. e exhauſted the Wealth of the Nation. He did ore. He debaſed the *Coin*, by mingling it with opper, and loaded the Publick with Debts. heſe again were conſiderably increaſed in the eign of *Edward the ſixth*. Queen *Mary* was ſo r from diminiſhing them, that one of the princi-l Complaints againſt her Adminiſtration, next the Cruelty ſhe exerciſed, was the great Diſſipa-on of the *Revenue*, occaſioned by her Reſtitutions the *Church*, and by her new Foundations of *onaſteries*.——— In this low, incumbered State ueen *Elizabeth* found the Revenues of the *Crown*, d the Wealth of the *Nation*.

Her Situation *abroad* was ſtill worſe than her tuation *at home*. *Calais*, and the other *Engliſh* oſſeſſions in *Picardy*, had been loſt in a Quarrel, here the Intereſt of *England* had no Concern. or the Sake of *Spain*, We had War with *France*. he War with *Scotland* ſtill continued; and Queen

Elizabeth had no one *Ally*, on whoſe Aſſiſtance ſh could depend.

Such diſtreſſed Situations are rare; and wh They have happened, They have been often re dered leſs difficult in Reality, than in Appearanc by ſome particular Circumſtances, which have a tended them. But when *Elizabeth* began h Reign, no ſuch Circumſtances exiſted in her Fa vour. On the contrary, almoſt every Circum ſtance aggravated her Diſtreſs. The Throne *France* and *Spain* were filled neither by *old Me* worn out with Age and Cares; nor by *weak Me* unequal to their Rank and Buſineſs; nor *Children*, under the Tuition of Regents. *Henry t ſecond* reigned in *France*; *Philip the ſecond* in *Spai* Princes, in the Vigour of their Age; of great Am bition; of great Talents; and ſeconded by t *ableſt Miniſters* and *Generals* in *Europe*. T *French* Monarchy had been growing up, from t Time of *Lewis the eleventh*, towards that Fulne of Power and Affluence of Wealth, at which t *Spaniſh* Monarchy was already arrived. Bo theſe Princes were, by Bigotry and by Policy, a tached to the Court of *Rome*; implacable Enem to the *Reformation*; and ſuch by Conſequence Queen *Elizabeth*. *Henry the ſecond* had a farth Reaſon for being ſo. He graſped, in his ambi ous Views, the Crown of *England*, as well as Th of *Scotland*; and looked on Queen *Elizabeth*, the Uſurper of a Right, belonging to *Daughter in Law*. *Philip*, indeed, kept ſo faint and affected Meaſures with *Elizabeth*, long as He apprehended the Union of ſo ma Crowns in the Houſe of *Valois*; but this App henſion was ſoon at an end; and even his She of Friendſhip with it. *Henry the ſecond*, and

deſt Son, *Francis the ſecond*, died in about two ears. The Deaths of theſe Princes did, perhaps, diminiſh the Difficulties and Dangers, to hich Queen *Elizabeth* ſtood expoſed on *one Hand*; ut then They increaſed theſe Difficulties and angers on the *other*; ſince they took off all Reraint from *Philip*, in Purſuit of his Enterprizes gainſt her. His Life laſted almoſt as long as ers, and his inveterate Enmity as long as his Life.

Another Source, from which Difficulties and angers were inceſſantly ariſing to Queen *Elizaeth*, lay in the Objections, which the *Papiſts* made her Title, on a Principle of *Religion*; and which ere but too really, tho' indirectly, abetted by me *Proteſtants*, on a Principle of *Faction*.——— Whilſt Diſputes about the Succeſſion to the Crown ere confined to *England*, and turned on Maxims f our own Growth, if I may uſe that Expreſſion, We have ſeen how little Regard was paid to the itles, and to the *pretended divine, indefeazable Right f Princes*. But when *foreign Nations* came to be tereſted in the Succeſſion of our Crown, They roceeded on *other Notions*; not on *Theſe*, which oth *Cuſtom* and *Law* had eſtabliſhed here.

The Attacks, of this Kind, made on Queen *Elizabeth*, were the more grievous to Her, becauſe They not only united the *Roman-Catholick Powers* gainſt her; but they made the Diviſions wider nd more irreconcileable *at home*; where ſhe placed he chief Strength and Security of her Government.

Mary Queen of *Scotland*, was a *Pretender*, neither abjured in *England*, nor diſavowed and unſupported in other Countries. Sovereign of *one Part* of the Iſland, ſhe had a powerful Party in he *other*; Wife of the *Dauphin*, and after That Queen of *France*; encouraged and aſſiſted by her

Uncles, who poſſeſſed more then regal Power
that Kingdom; by *Spain*, and by the whole Pop
Intereſt; ſhe was juſtly formidable to Queen *E*
zabeth, as long as ſhe lived.——Another C
cumſtance made Her ſo ſtill more. The Succ
of the *Reformation* ſeemed to increaſe the Zeal
Thoſe, who continued in the Communion of t
Church of *Rome*. The Influence of the Court
Rome became conſequently ſtronger at this Po
of Time. It appeared both in *France* and
England too as powerful, though not as ſucceſsf
here at leaſt, as it had appeared in the eleven
Century, in the Days of the brave, but unfortun
Emperor, *Henry the fourth*, and of that inſole
Fryar, *Gregory the ſeventh*. ——— Even this C
cumſtance may juſtly ſeem to have been inforc
by another; by the Eſtabliſhment of the Or
of *Jeſuits*. This Order, the Off-ſpring of a m
Spaniard, has had the principal Honour, thou
other religious Orders have endeavoured to ſh
it, of giving to the *Pope* an Authority like Th
which was exerciſed by the *King of the Aſſaſſ*
or the *old Man of the Mountain*, as He is called
ſome of the *French* Hiſtorians; an Authori
which proved fatal to *Henry the third* and *He*
the fourth of France; and which had like to ha
proved ſo to Queen *Elizabeth*, and even to her *S*
ceſſor.

Such were the Difficulties and Dangers, whi
encompaſſed this Princeſs. The Situation of *E*
land, in her Time, reſembled That of a To
powerfully beſieged *without*, and expoſed to Tr
chery and Sedition *within*. That a Town, in ſu
Circumſtances, ſhould defend itſelf, and even for
the Enemy, by its own Strength, to raiſe t
Siege, hardly falls within the Bounds of Probabi
ty

But that all This ſhould happen, and the habitants feel none of the Inconveniencies of a g and obſtinate Siege, nay, that They ſhould ow opulent, during the Continuance of it, and d themſelves at laſt better able to offend the emy than They were at firſt to defend their alls, ſeems an Adventure of ſome extravagant omance. But it conveys a true Image of this ign.——Unallied and alone, Queen *Elizabeth* aintained a glorious and ſucceſsful War againſt e greateſt Power and the richeſt Potentate in *rope*. She diſtreſſed him in the *Weſt-Indies*. e inſulted him in *Spain*. She took him from e *Empire of Sea*. She fixed it in Herſelf. She ndered all the Projects of univerſal Monarchy in; and ſhook to the Foundations the moſt orbitant Power, which ever diſturbed the Peace, threatened the Liberties of *Europe*. She ſup-rted the oppreſſed People of the *Netherlands*, ainſt the Tyranny of their Prince. She ſup-rted the Proteſtant Subjects of *France*, againſt *atherine* of *Medicis* and her Sons, thoſe execrable utchers of their People. She ſupported the ings of *France*, *Henry the third* and *fourth*, a-ainſt the Ambition of the Princes of the Houſe *Lorraine*, and the rebellious League of their *opiſh* Subjects. She, who ſeemed to have every hing to fear in the Beginning of her Reign, be-me in the Progreſs of it terrible to her Enemies. he *Pretender to her Crown* loſt *her own*. The *ngliſh*, who appeared at firſt ſo favourable to the ueen of *Scotland*, became at laſt as deſirous to ſa-rifice the Life of that unfortunate Princeſs to the ecurity of Queen *Elizabeth*. Whilſt War, Con-uſion, and the Miſeries which attend Them, aged in the Dominions of Thoſe, who bent their

Aim at the Diſturbance of her Government; preſerved her Subjects in Peace and in Plen Whilſt the Glory of the Nation was carried h by Atchievements in *War*; the Riches and Strength of it were raiſed by the Arts of *Peace*, ſuch a Degree, as former Ages had never ſe and as We of this Age feel in the Conſequen ——Well therefore might my Lord *Bacon*, ſpea ing of Queen *Elizabeth*, ſay, * *As for her Gove ment, I aſſure myſelf I ſhall not exceed, if I do affir that this Part of the Iſland never had forty-five Ye of better Times; and yet not through the* Calmneſ *the Seaſon, but through the* Wiſdom *of her Regime*

Having made theſe Remarks on the *Difficulti* and on the *Succeſs*, which attended Queen *Eliz beth*; it is Time to conſider the *Cauſe*, which p duced the ſtupendous Effects of her Reign. N this *Cauſe* is, I think, very plain. She was w enough to ſee clearly into the Nature of t Government, at the Head of which ſhe w placed; and to know that † *the ſupreme Head ſuch a Government owes a ſupreme Service to the wh* She was wiſe enough to know that, to be *Pow ful*, ſhe muſt either *uſurp* on her People; *dece* Them; or *gain* Them. The *two firſt*, ſhe fa were hard, dangerous and diſhonourable. T *laſt*, ſhe ſaw, was eaſy, ſafe and glorious. H Head and her Heart concurred to determine h Choice. She made Herſelf very ſoon the moſt p pular Perſon in the Kingdom. In her Reign, t Senſe of the *Court*, the Senſe of the *Parliament*, a the Senſe of the *People*, were the ſame; and whe

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* *Advancement of Learning*, Lib. I.

† *See* Nath. Bacon's *Hiſt. and Pol. Diſcourſe.*

er ſhe exerted her own Strength, ſhe exerted the hole Strength of the Nation. Nothing ſhe aſked s ever refuſed by *Parliament*; becauſe ſhe aſked thing, which would have been refuſed by the ople. She threw Herſelf ſo intirely on the *Affec-*ns of her Subjects, that ſhe ſeemed to decline all her Tenure of the Crown. At leaſt, ſhe was t very ſolicitous about clearing her Title to it *Deſcent.* An *Act*, declaring her Right accord-the Order of Succeſſion ſettled in *Parliament* 35 *nry the eighth* contented Her; and ſhe neglected e Precaution, which her *Siſter* had taken, in tting the *Act*, which excluded them both from e Crown, repealed, as far as it related to Her-f. The particular Reaſons of her Conduct, in is Caſe, might perhaps be gueſſed at with more obability than They have been; but certainly e general Reaſon outweighed them all in the ind of this heroical Princeſs. She knew that wever the Subtlety of *Lawyers* and *political* iſuiſts might influence *Opinions*, nothing but her n *Conduct* could give her the *Hearts* of her Peo-e. *Theſe* ſhe deemed her great Security. *Theſe* e acquired; and the little Gloſſes, which might ve been put on her *Title*, ſhe deſpiſed. The be-g *not only tyed, but knit to her People* was her Aim; d ſhe purſued this great Point of View, on all ccaſions; the leaſt, as well as the greateſt; and n on Thoſe, where ſhe thought it neceſſary to ſe or to *reprimand.* Nature, as well as Art, ted Her for this Conduct. She had Dignity ithout Pride. She was affable, without ſink-g into low Familiarity; and when ſhe court-her People, ſhe courted Them like a Queen. his *Popularity* was ſometimes carried ſo far, th in her Manners, and in her Expreſſions,

that her Enemies have endeavoured to make pass for groſs and fulſome Affectation; and ſuch, indeed, it ought to have paſſed, if it had go alone. It might have ſhocked, inſtead of all ing, if it had not been ſeconded by every Act of her Life, and contradicted by none.—Let now conſider therefore, in ſome Inſtances, wh that Conduct was, which convinced her People intirely of her *Goodneſs* and her *Wiſdom*; and whi procured Her large Returns of *Gratitude*, of D of *Affection* and *Zeal*.

LETTER XIV.

A Firſt and eſſential Condition, towards taining the Love and Confidence of a *People*, is to be neither *feared* nor *deſpiſed* by the Queen *Elizabeth* was, at no Time, in any Dan of the *latter*; and ſhe ſoon put Herſelf above the Suſpicions, which might have expoſed Her the *former*. The only Difference between and her Parliament, which carried any Paſſion Unkindneſs with it, happened in the ninth Y of her Reign. It was founded on the Apprehe ſions of the Dangers, which would ariſe after Death, if the Succeſſion was not fixed during Life. But We do not find the leaſt Inſinuation any Jealouſy of her Government; though Heat of *both Houſes*, at that Moment, was great to have concealed any Uneaſineſs, which lain at their Hearts. That ſhe was fond enou of her *Prerogative* is certain; but then ſhe to Care that it ſhould never be grievous; or tha

was ſo, on ſome Occaſions, to particular Per-
ns; it ſhould appear, by the Occaſions them-
ves, and by the Manner of exerciſing it, ſpecious
the Publick.—The *Prerogative* certainly run
gh in thoſe Days. Her *Grandfather* had raiſed
by Cunning, and her *Father* by Violence. The
wer of the *Privy Council* in civil Affairs, and
e *cenſorian* Power of the *Star-Chamber* in crimi-
l Affairs, as my Lord *Bacon* very properly ſtiles
took too much of the *Pleas of the Crown* and
the *common Pleas* out of their proper Channels,
d * *ſerved rather to ſcare Men from doing Wrong,*
n to do any Man Right.—But the Exerciſe of
eſe Powers having continued in four preceding
eigns, the People were accuſtomed to it; and
re being taken to give no flagrant Occaſion of
amour againſt it, We are not to wonder if it
as borne, without Oppoſition or Murmur, in a
eign as *popular* as This.

The *High-Commiſſion Court*, that We may quote
nother Inſtance, had no Doubt very extraordi-
ry Powers. The *Biſhops*, who held the princi-
l Sway in it, exerciſed by theſe Means two very
eat Authorities at the ſame Time; *one*, as Or-
naries in their *Dioceſes*; the *other*, as Judges in
is *Court*; ſo that they might *fine* and *impriſon*;
well as *excommunicate* and *deprive*. Now, it is
t very probable that the *Parliament*, who thought
e *firſt* of theſe Powers too much (as may be ſeen
the Attempts made againſt it, in the 28th
ear of this Reign) were very well pleaſed to ſee
e *ſecond* in the ſame Hands. However, the
eadineſs of the *Queen*, in maintaining this Part
the *Prerogative*, which had been given Her,
was

* *Bac. Hiſt. and Pol. Diſc.*

was the leſs unpopular, on Account of the un
tled State of *Religion* at this Time; of the g
Moderation of the *Biſhops* in theſe early Day
the *Reformation*; and of the prudent Manner,
which the Juriſdiction of the *High-Commi*
Court was executed.

The Effects of a *bare-faced Prerogative* are
the moſt dangerous to *Liberty*, for this Reaſo
becauſe They are open; becauſe the Alarm T
give is commonly greater than the Progreſs T
make; and whilſt a particular Man or two
cruſhed by Them, a whole Nation is put on
Guard.——The moſt dangerous Attacks on
berty are Thoſe, which *ſurprize*, or *undermi*
which are owing to *Powers*, given under Prete
of ſome *urgent Neceſſity*; to *Powers*, popular
reaſonable, perhaps, at firſt; but ſuch as ou
not to become ſettled and confirmed by a *long*
ercise; and yet are rendered *perpetual* by Art
Management; and, in a great Degree, by
Nature of *theſe Powers* themſelves. Examples
this Kind, might be produced from the *Spaniſh*
other Hiſtories. But Queen *Elizabeth* was
from ſetting any ſuch Examples. She ſhew'd
Moderation, in deſiring no *ſuſpicious Powers*,
well as in the Exerciſe of her *Prerogative*;
this Moderation was the more remarkable, beca
no Prince ever had the Pretence of *Neceſſity* to u
on ſtronger Appearances. Her whole Reign m
be almoſt called a State of *defenſive* and *offen*
War, in *England*, as well as in *Ireland*; in
Indies, as well as in *Europe*. She ventured to
through this State, if it was a Venture, witho
the Help of a *ſtanding Army*. The People
England had ſeen none, from the Days of *Richa*
the ſecond, and this *cautious Queen* might perha
imagin

agine, that the Example of his Reign and Thoſe other Countries, where *ſtanding Armies* were abliſhed, would beget Jealouſies in the Minds her People, and diminiſh that *Affection*, which eſteemed and found to be the greateſt Security her Perſon, and the greateſt Strength of her overnment. Whenever ſhe wanted Troops, r Subjects flocked to her Standard; and her ign affords moſt illuſtrious Proofs, that all the nds of Security, and of Glory too, may be anered in this Iſland, without the Charge and anger of the *Expedient* juſt mentioned.

This Aſſertion will not be contradicted by hoſe, who recollect in how many Places, and on w many Occaſions, her Forces fought and conered the beſt diſciplined veteran Troops in rope. Other Examples might be brought to ew how careful Queen *Elizabeth* was to avoid ry Thing, which might give the leaſt Umge to her People. But we have ſaid enough on s Head. Let us proceed to another.

The Conduct ſhe held, with Reſpect to *Parties*, erves to be remarked; becauſe the Moderation, e Wiſdom, and the Equity, which ſhe ſhewed it, contributed very much to cool the Ferment the Beginning of her Reign; by which ſhe had ime to captivate the good Will of her People; ſettle her Government; to eſtabliſh her Auority; and even to change the national Religi, with little Contradiction, and without any ſturbance.

Notwithſtanding all the Indignities ſhe had ered, and all the Dangers ſhe had run, before r Acceſſion, ſeveral Perſons were reſtored, and t a Man was attainted in her firſt Parliament. he Steps I have mentioned being once made, ſhe

ſtood

ſtood on firmer Ground, and had leſs to fear fr
the *Spirit of Faction.* This Clemency, once ſhe
ſhe could, more ſafely and with greater Reaſ
exerciſe Severity, when the Preſervation of
publick Peace made it neceſſary.

The Peace of the Kingdom was the Standa
to which ſhe proportioned her Conduct. She
far from caſting herſelf with Precipitation
Violence even into *that Party*, which ſhe favour
and on which alone ſhe reſolved to depend.
was far from inflaming their Spirits againſt
adverſe Party; and farther ſtill from puſhing
Sort of Men, *Puritans*, or even *Papiſts*, into
ſpair; or provoking them to deſerve Puniſhm
that ſhe might have a Pretence to inflict it.
purſued her own Scheme ſteadily; but She p
ſued it gradually; and accompanied it with all
artful Circumſtances, which could ſoften
Minds of Men, and induce Thoſe, who were
moſt averſe to her Meaſures, to bear them,
leaſt, patiently. On theſe Principles ſhe proce
ed, in the whole Courſe of her Reign.

To the *Papiſts* ſhe uſed great Lenity; till
Bull of *Pius Quintus*, and the Rebellion, and ot
Attempts, conſequent upon it, obliged Her to p
cure new Laws, and execute more Rigour.
even then ſhe diſtinguiſhed * *Papiſts in Conſci
from Papiſts in Faction.* She made the ſame
ſtinction with Regard to the *Puritans. Their*
*was not condemned; only their Violence was ſometi
cenſured*; until they attempted to ſet up their o
Diſcipline, in Oppoſition to That, which
been eſtabliſhed by national Authority; u
their Motives appeared to be *no more Zeal, no*
Conſcie

* *Walſingham*'s Letters.

ſcience, ſays Secretary *Walſingham*, *but meer Fac-n and Diviſion.*

Thus cautious and ſteady was the Conduct of een *Elizabeth* towards *Parties*; ſteady to the inciple, and therefore varied in the Application, the Behaviour of *Parties* towards her Govern-nt varied; not *as Succeſs abroad*, or the *Change Servants at home*, might have influenced That a Prince of inferior Abilities. What has been d relates to *Parties in the Nation*; for as to *rties at Court*, the Conduct of this Queen, ough directed to the ſame general End, ſeems to ve been different. In the Nation ſhe choſe *one rty*. She rendered the Syſtem of *that Party* the ſtem of the *Whole*. By this Eſtabliſhment, the *er Parties* became ſo many *Factions*; and by e Conduct we have deſcribed, ſhe defeated and ſarmed theſe *Factions*. At *Court*, ſhe counte-nced, and perhaps fomented, the *Parties*, which ifferent Characters, and different Intereſts crea-d. But however That was, ſhe found Means to tach them all to Herſelf; and ſhe found this nefit by keeping her Ear open to Them all, that e Truth could not be concealed from Her by the oſt powerful of her *Miniſters*; as We have ex-ained in a *former Letter*, upon this Subject. On r Acceſſion to the Throne, ſhe retained thirteen her Siſter's Councellors, and ballanced them by more than eight of her own Religion. *On Thoſe, as well as on all others, which ſhe afterwards dmitted into the Miniſtry*, ſays Cambden, *ſhe beſtowed er Favours with ſo much Caution, and ſo little Di-ſtinction, as to prevent* either Party *from gaining the aſcendant over her; whereby ſhe remained Miſtreſs of Herſelf, and preſerved both their Affections and her wn Power and Authority intire.*

The

The Favours, by which ſhe diſtinguiſhed Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Eſſex*, are not Exceptio in the Courſe of ſo long a Reign, ſufficient to ſtroy the Truth of this general Obſervation. ſides, both theſe Lords felt the Weight of her D pleaſure, (nay one of them, the Rigour of her J tice,) when they preſumed too much on her vour, and ſwerved from their Duty. The ſin lar Confidence, which ſhe placed in *Cecil*, and ſo others of her *Miniſters*, cannot be quoted in C poſition to it; for if ſhe diſtinguiſhed them was rather by the Labours, than the Favours heaped on them. She ſupported them indeed gainſt their Enemies; but then the Merit of t *Men* was far from being problematical. Th Works teſtified daily for them, in bold and w concerted Enterprizes; in wiſe, and well-c ducted Negotiations. The *People* reaped the nefit of their Services, as well as the *Prince*. T were juſtified in the *Nation*, as well as ſuppor at *Court*. In ſhort, by this Diſcernment of Spir by this ſkilful Management of *Parties*, with the Help of *military Force*, unleſs in actual Reb lions, Queen *Elizabeth* preſerved her People Tranquility; though there paſſed not an Hour her whole Reign, without ſome Intrigue agai her Life, and the publick Peace.

This *Moderation*, in aſſuming and exerciſi Power, might have been illuſtrated more, and vinced againſt all the little Cavils made, and to made, if we had not avoided too great Prolixi But it is Time to haſten to the Conſideration ſome other Parts of her Conduct.

Queen *Elizabeth* was accuſed of *Avarice* by h Enemies; and perhaps ſhe was ſo by ſome of h Friends. Among that hungry Crew, which atten

Courts for the *Loaves and the Fiſhes*, ſhe could eſcape this Charge. But ſurely, the Nation Reaſon to applaud her Frugality. Her *Grand-her* hoarded up Riches. Her *Father* diſſipated em. The Conſequence under both theſe Prin- was, that every ſlight Occaſion became a ſuffi- nt Pretence to aſk for *Subſidies*; nay, they were ed and granted too, when even the ſlighteſt Oc- ion did not exiſt. They were aſked by *Henry ſeventh* for Wars, which he never intended to ke; and by *Henry the eighth* for reſiſting *Inva-*, which were never deſigned againſt Him. hus was the Nation equally oppreſſed by the arice of *One*, and by the *Profuſion* of the *other*. But Queen *Elizabeth* neither hoarded up, nor ithed away; and it it juſtly to be queſtioned ether any Example of a prudent Oecono- in private Life can be produced equal to hat, which ſhe practiced in the whole Manage- nt of her Affairs. The famous BURLEIGH d to ſay, that *He never cared to ſee the* Treaſury ell, *like a diſordered Spleen, when the* other Parts *the Commonwealth were in a* Conſumption; and Miſtreſs thought that *Money, in the Pockets of Subjects, was better placed than in her own Ex-quer*. Surely, theſe Maxims were wiſe, as well popular. If a Prince amaſſes Wealth, to hoard up like *Henry the ſeventh*, it is uſeleſs to Him- f, and loſt to the Publick. If He ſquanders it ay, like *Henry the eighth*, He will enrich parti- ar Men, and impoveriſh the State. But whilſt eſe Treaſures remain in the Purſe of the Sub- t, they circulate in Commerce; they increaſe Conſequence the Riches of a Prince like Queen izabeth; for to ſuch a Prince this Purſe will be ays open.

As

As immenſe as the Expences were, which found Herſelf obliged to make, from the Mom ſhe aſcended the Throne, ſhe received nothing *Taxes* from her People till the ſixth Year of Reign. The *Taxes*, then given, were given by Wa *Retribution*; which was generally the Method her Time. In *former Reigns*, the People gran Aids, not without a general Communication leaſt of the Uſes, to which they were to be appli but often without a ſufficient Aſſurance that t ſhould be ſo applied. In this *Reign* that Met of Proceeding was inverted.

The Prince in the World, who deſerved to truſted the moſt, deſired to be ſo the leaſt. Aids, which ſhe had from her People, were no properly *Grants*, as *Reimburſements* of Money, vanced for national Services.——And what vices? *For eſtabliſhing the* Proteſtant Religion; *defending* England; *for reſcuing* Scotland; *for rying on a ſucceſsful War againſt an opulent and p Enemy*; *for aſſiſting the Subjects and even the K of* France; *for ſupporting the People of the* Net lands; *for refining the* debaſed Coin; *for p all the* Debts *and reſtoring the* Credit *of the* Crow *for providing* Ammunition *at home, which b this Time we had been always obliged to purc abroad*; *for improving both* home *and* foreign Tra *for rebuilding and augmenting the* Navy; *and for ing all This, without any burthenſome Impoſition the People*; as the Parliament more than once knowledged.

It was ſo much a Maxim of Queen *Eliza* to ſave for the *Publick* not for *Herſelf*; and meaſure her Riches, by the Riches of the Nat not by the Treaſures ſhe had in her Coffers; ſhe refuſed Supplies offered, and remitted

m

ts of Supplies granted, when ſhe found that was able to carry on the publick Service with- them. The two great Principles of that *Oe-* *my*, which enabled Her to do ſo much for her *le*, and to oppreſs them ſo little, ſeem to have n Theſe. 1*ſt*, She made the moſt of her *Re-* *es*; not by tormenting, and racking her Sub- , like *Henry the ſeventh*, but by keeping a ſtrict d over her *Officers*, and hindering them from iching Themſelves, either by direct Fraud, or a clandeſtine Management, which may be y termed indirect Fraud, and is often more icious than the other.—2*dly*, She practiſed *ſuperior Oeconomy*, of which we have ſpoken *former Paper*, with the utmoſt Ability. What d be done by *Wiſdom*, or *Courage*, ſhe never mpted by *Money*; nor expected that her Sub- ſhould *buy* her out of Difficulties. Strong at ne, ſhe affected little to lean on foreign Help. her Alliance was often courted, and ſhe ſeldom rted That of others, it was in her Power, and took the Advantage, to engage in no Expence, ſuch as the Intereſt of her Kingdom rendered mediately neceſſary. To this Intereſt alone ſhe portioned her Expence. This was the ſole e of her Conduct. The *Hugenots*, whom ſhe ted in their firſt War, made their Peace with- Her, and aſſiſted to retake from her the Places, had bargained for with them; yet ſhe helped m, in the Wars, which follow'd, with her oops, her Ships, and her Money. The *Dutch* given her no Cauſe to complain of their Be- iour. Yet when *France* abandoned them at Treaty of *Vervins*, and they had no Support Hers remaining, ſhe made a *new Bargain* with them,

them, and leſſened her own Charge; bec
ſhe knew they were able, at that Time, to ſu
the Deficiency.

In all theſe Expences, ſhe was careful ne
to ſtarve nor overfeed the Cauſe, while it la
and ſhe frequently ſtipulated a Repayment; w
ſhe might exact afterwards, if ſhe found Reaſ
to do; or which ſhe might remit, and th
create a ſecond Obligation to Her, if ſhe foun
Account in ſuch an Inſtance of Generoſity. Q
Elizabeth was not only thus *frugal* for her Pe
but perpetually attentive to the Methods of *in*
ing them. In the very firſt Parliament, w
ſhe held, amidſt the moſt important Affairs;
as the Settlement of the *Crown* on her own H
the Change of *Religion*; and the Eſtabliſhme
the *Church*; Regulation for the Improveme
Trade, and Increaſe of *Shipping*, were not forg

We might purſue the ſame Obſervation thr
the whole Courſe of her Reign, both in Pa
ment, and out of it; and ſhew, in numberleſ
ſtances, how ſhe roſe to the higheſt, and deſce
even to the loweſt Circumſtances, which in
Degree affected the *Trade* and *Navigation* o
Subjects. We might ſhew the Advantages
took, in theſe Reſpects, not only of the Faults o
mitted by other Governments, but of the Mi
tunes of other Countries. In a Word, we m
ſhew how *War* itſelf, one of the greateſt pu
Calamities, inſtead of impoveriſhing, becam
Source of Riches to this Nation, by the Man
in which ſhe made it.

But theſe Particulars would carry us beyon
Bounds we have preſcribed to ourſelves. In g
ral, it will not be denied that, beſide the Spi
Induſtry, which exerciſed itſelf at home, Q
Eliz

abeth raiſed and puſhed to the higheſt Degree, the Protection and Encouragement ſhe gave, a it of diſcovering *new Countries*; making *new lements*; and opening *new Veins of Trade*. The e of this firſt Impreſſion has laſted long a- gſt us. *Commerce* has thrived under Neglects, Diſcouragement. It has ſubſiſted under Op- ions and Obſtructions; and the *Spirit* of it is yet extinguiſhed by That of *Stockjobbing*; gh the Spirit of *Stockjobbing* be to That of e, what the Spirit of *Faction* is to That of rty. The Tendency of *both* is to advance the reſt of a few worthleſs Individuals, at the Ex- e of the whole Community. The Conſe- nce of both, if ever they prevail to the Ruin of e and *Liberty*, muſt be, that the *Harpies* will e in the Midſt of imaginary Wealth; and that Children of *Faction*, like the iron Race of nus, will deſtroy one another.

efore Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, the Commerce *ngland* was confined and poor. In her Reign, xtended itſelf over all the known, and even in- e unknown Parts of the World. We traded e *North*, and opened our Paſſage into *Muſcovy*. carried our Merchandize up the *Duina*, down *Volga*, and a-croſs the *Caſpian* Sea into *Perſia*. Our Merchants viſited the Coaſts of *Africa*; all Countries of the *Grand Seignior*; and follow- e Tracks of the *Venetians* into the *Eaſt-Indies*. y ſoon follow'd the *Portugueſe* thither by the e of *Good Hope*. They went thither through *South Sea*, and ſailed round the World. In the *ſt-Indies*, they not only traded, but eſta- ed themſelves, in Spight of all the Power of n.

Before

Before Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, the Flee
England was ſo inconſiderable, that even in
Days of her *Father*, if I miſtake not, we
forced to borrow, or hire Ships of *Hamburgh*,
beck, *Dantzick*, and other Places.

In her Reign, it ſoon grew to ſuch a Nu
and Strength, that it became terrible to the gre
maritime Powers of *Europe*.

On ſuch Foundations were the Riches
Power of this Kingdom laid by Queen *Eliza*
and Theſe were ſome of the Means ſhe impl
to gain the *Affections* of her Subjects. Can w
ſurprized if ſhe ſucceeded.

LETTER XV.

QUEEN ELIZABETH ſucceeded in ga
the Affections of her Subjects, not onl
the Conduct, which ſhe held *at home*, b
That, which ſhe held in the Management o
national Intereſt *abroad*.

We have endeavoured to explain ſome Par
lars of the *former*. It remains that we give
leaſt imperfect Ideas we are able of the *latter*,
that we apply the whole great Example of
Reign, to confirm the Doctrines we have adva

Queen *Elizabeth* could not have eſtabliſhed
preſerved, as ſhe did, the Tranquility of her
ple in the midſt of Diſturbance, nor their Sec
in the midſt of Danger, if ſhe had not taken
Share in the general Affairs of *Europe*. She
therefore ſuch a Share as the Intereſt of *En*
neceſſarily required at that Time; and ſhe
ducted herſelf in the Management of it with W

m and Addreſs ſuperior to any of her Prede-
ſſors.

Her *Siſter* had been rendered by Bigotry an
regious Bubble to the Court of *Rome*. Peſuad-
by her *Husband*, and deceived by her *Miniſters*,
e was ſo likewiſe very fatally in the Quarrel,
hich broke out between *France* and *Spain*. The
rliament, in aſſenting to her Marriage with a
eign Prince, had impoſed ſuch *Conditions*, as were
dged ſufficient to preſerve the Conſtitution of the
overnment, and the Independency of the King-
m.

Philip had ſworn to the Obſervation of theſe
nditions. Such of them, as he had not either
ime, or Opportunity, or Temptation to break,
ere obſerved; but the others proved too weak to
ld him. Thus, for Inſtance, we do not find
at he enriched himſelf at the Expence of *Eng-
nd*. He is ſaid, on the contrary, to have brought
ther very great Treaſures; and his Father had
uſted the Diſtribution of an immenſe Sum to
rdiner; ſo that if he bribed the Nation, it was
ith his own Money, not theirs; but he engaged
e Nation in a War with *France*, becauſe *France*
oke with *Spain*; notwitſtanding the expreſs
ondition made by Parliament, * *That the Match
uld not at all derogate from the League lately concluded
twixt the Queen of* England *and the King of* France,
t *the Peace ſhould remain inviolate between the* En-
ſh *and the* French.

This Sacrifice of the *national* to a *foreign In-
reſt* coſt us *Calais*; a Conqueſt, which the
ench looked upon as a Compenſation for near
two

* Cambden.

two hundred other Places, which they were obli
by the Treaty of *Cambray* to give to *Ph*
Boulogne had been ſacrificed in the preceding Re
not to a *foreign Intereſt*, but to That of the
niſter, *Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*, afterwards D
of *Northumberland*. The People were willing
able to aſſert their Right, and to defend t
Poſſeſſion; but the Situation of the *Miniſter*,
the Schemes of private Intereſt, which he
carrying on at home, required that he ſhould av
at any rate, a War; even a defenſive War.
ſhort, *Boulogne*, for which *France* had engage
give two Millions, was delivered up for four h
dred thouſand Crowns; and the very *ſame Mini*
who had oppoſed with Violence all the pub
Conſiderations, urged by the *Protector* for yiel
this Place, yielded it to purchaſe a *Treaty* neceſ
for *Himſelf*, detrimental and diſhonourable to
Nation.

We have ſaid enough, in a *former Letter*, c
cerning the wild Conduct of *Henry the eigh*
foreign Affairs; and there is no need of going
farther back. Theſe Examples are ſufficien
ſhew the Oppoſition between That of Queen
zabeth and That of her Predeceſſors. She
neither deceived, like them, by her *Miniſt*
nor betrayed by her *Paſſions*, to ſerve any o
Intereſt at the Expence of *England*.

It would be eaſy to prove, from many Inſtan
how careful ſhe was to avoid every Thing, w
might even warp the ſteady Tenor of her Con
in this Reſpect. As long as ſhe had no rea
tereſt diſtinct from That of the Country ſhe
verned, ſhe knew that no fictitious Intereſt c
be impoſed on Her. She kept Herſelf there

ar of any ſuch real Intereſt, and thought that e Crown of *England* deſerved her ſole, her undi-ded Care.

Much has been ſaid of her Behaviour in all the reaties of *Marriage* propoſed to Her. We ſhall t engage in that Diſquiſition. But This, We ink, cannot be controverted; that if ever ſhe s in earneſt reſolved to marry, ſhe was ſo hen the *Articles of Marriage* between Her and e Duke of *Anjou* were ſigned. It is hardly ffible, as *Rapin* obſerves, to account for her Con-ct on this Occaſion by any other Principle. ow, upon this Suppoſition, what Motive could termine Her to break *this Match* in ſo abrupt a anner? The Reaſons urged by *Cambden*, and her Writers, in general prove too much, They ve rather to prove, that ſhe ſhould not have en-ed into theſe Engagements at all, than to ac-unt for her breaking them as ſhe did. But a-ong the Reaſons, on which *Walſingham* inſiſted, en he was ſent into *France* upon this Occaſion, may obſerve one in particular, founded on a ct, which happened after the ſigning of the *Ar-les*; and which accounts for the Queen's Con-ct in this Caſe agreeably to Principles, on which proceeded in all others. The Duke of *Anjou* d accepted the Sovereignty of the *Low Countries*. this Step, He had engaged himſelf in a War ith *Spain*; and the Queen would not, on his count, engage her People in it, * *deſiring no-ng more than that by this Marriage the Realm ght be preſerved in Peace and Tranquility.*

* Cambden.

She might incline to marry this Prince, und
all the Limitations and Reſerves contained in t
Articles, whilſt He had no Dominions on t
Continent; and yet ſtart backwards, and reſolve
break the Match, as ſoon as ſhe ſaw him actual
poſſeſſed of the Sovereignty of the *Low Countries*.

Nay, if we ſhould ſuppoſe, againſt hiſtoric
Probabality, that ſhe never deſigned to conſum
mate her Marriage, though ſhe entered into *Ar*
cles, yet there will ſtill remain no reaſonable W
of accounting for the ſudden Reſolution ſhe to
of breaking at this preciſe Point of Time; unl
we ſuppoſe, that ſhe thought this Reaſon the ſtron
eſt and the moſt unanſwerable of all Thoſe, whi
could be urged in Excuſe of a Meaſure liable
ſeveral Objections, and ſome very inconvenie
Contingencies.

There were few Things, which ſhe had m
at Heart thon reſcuing the *Netherlands* from
Spaniſh Yoke; and there was nothing in the wh
Extent of *foreign Affairs*, to which ſhe gave gre
Attention. Even at this Time, ſhe ſupplied
Duke of *Anjou* with very conſiderable Sums,
the Support of his Enterprize; and, about f
Years afterwards, ſhe eſpouſed more openly
Cauſe of theſe Provinces, by making a Tre
with the *States*, and by ſending an Army to t
Aſſiſtance. But as ſhe would not marry a Pri
who was their *Sovereign*, ſo ſhe would not acc
this *Sovereignty*, when it was offered directly
Her. She perſiſted in avoiding an Engagem
which might in its Conſequence carry her far
than the Intereſt of *England* required; or ob
her to make greater Efforts than were conſiſt
with that eaſy and flouriſhing State, in which
reſolved to preſerve her own People.

M

Much more might be ſaid; but This may ſerve to ſhew what the firſt and fundamental Principle was, by which Queen *Elizabeth* governed herſelf in all *foreign Affairs*. She conſidered the Intereſt of no Kingdom, no State, nor People, no not even the general Intereſt of the *Reformation*, as zealous a *Proteſtant* as ſhe was, nor the Preſervation of a *Ballance of Power in Europe*, as great an *Heroine* as ſhe was, in any other Light than relatively to the Intereſt of *England*. She aſſiſted, or oppoſed, ſhe defended, or attacked, juſt as this Intereſt directed; and the Degree, to which it was concerned, was the exact and conſtant Meaſure, by which ſhe proportioned her good, and her ill Offices, her Friendſhip, and her Enmity. She was diverted from this Principle of Conduct neither by Weakneſs, nor Strength of Mind; neither by Fear, nor Hope; neither by Puſillanimity, nor Courage; neither by Moderation, nor Ambition. We may conclude this Head, by venturing to affirm that, in the whole Courſe of her Reign, there was not a Penny of *Engliſh Money* ſpent, nor a Drop of *Engliſh Blood* ſpilt; except where it was neceſſary to keep off from this Nation ſome real, viſible Advantage.

Queen *Elizabeth's* Policy was deep; and the Means ſhe employed were often very ſecret; but the Ends, to which this Policy and theſe Means were directed, were never equivocal. Let us now deſcend into ſome particular Inſtances of the Wiſdom and Addreſs, with which ſhe purſued this great Principle.

Theſe Particulars may be reduced properly, we think, under two general Heads. The *firſt* is this; ſhe watched *the Ebbs and Flows of the Power and Intereſt of* Europe; *the Viciſſitudes and Fluctua-*

tions in the Affairs of Peace and War. We uſe th
Words of a * *late Writer*, but ſhall make a ver
different Application of them.

This uncertain, varied, ſhifting Scene was
far from being the Cauſe of *bad Meaſures*, or th
Excuſe for *bad Succeſs*, at the Time we are ſpeak
ing of, that it was the very Source, from whenc
Queen *Elizabeth* derived thoſe Opportunitie
which ſhe improved ſo glorioufly. A weak
Council than Hers might have been puzzled, an
weaker Heads might have been turned by
confuſed a State of Affairs. Unable to ſteer ſteadi
through ſo many Difficulties, every Current woul
have carried ſuch Men along with it. Eve
Blaſt of Wind would have driven them before
Perpetually toſſed about, at the Mercy of eve
Event, they muſt have lived from Day to Day,
from Hour to Hour.

If the Kingdom had eſcaped intire Deſtructi
in this forlorn Condition, it muſt have been
Miracle, and without any Merit on the Part
Thoſe, who governed; but this entire Deſtructi
would much more probably have followed, afte
long Series of Calamities; without any other E
cuſe on their Part, than That of charging t
Cataſtrophe to the Account of *Fortune*, the co
mon Scape-Goat of *unſkilful Miniſters*.

The Conduct and the Succeſs of Queen *Eli*
beth and her *Miniſters* were very different. S
managed *France*, until ſhe had taken ſuch M
ſures, as left her leſs to fear from *Scotland*; and
managed *Spain*, until ſhe had nothing left to f
from *France*.

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* Vide *Obſervations on the Writings of the* Craftſma

She knew what Deſigns *Henry the ſecond* built on the Pretenſions of his Daughter-in-Law, *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*; and no one, who conſiders the Hiſtory of this Time, nay, even as He finds it deduced by *Rapin* himſelf, will be of his Mind, that She expected to *enjoy great Tranquility by the Peace*, which ſhe made, ſoon after her Acceſſion to the Throne, with *France* and *Scotland*.

But the making *this Treaty* gave Her Time, which was of the utmoſt Importance to Her to gain, abroad as well as at home, in the Beginning of her Reign. The Manner, in which ſhe made it, gave Her Reputation likewiſe; and ſhe was wiſe enough to know of what real Advantage Reputation is, and how much That of a Prince depends on the firſt Steps He makes in Government.

She practiſed in this Negotiation a Rule, which ſhe obſerved to the laſt. How much ſoever *Philip* reſented her Proceedings at home, it was plain ſhe could not abandon at that Time her Intereſts abroad. The Point of Honour, drawn from the Conſideration that *England* had entered into the War for the Sake of *Spain*, did not probably weigh much with Him; but the Pretenſions of *France* gave Him a juſt Alarm; and the ſame Reaſons, which are ſaid to have induced Him to ſave her Life, when ſhe was *Princeſs*, ſtood in Force to make Him ſupport Her, now ſhe was *Queen*, againſt the Power of *France*. Notwithſtanding this plauſible Conſideration, Queen *Elizabeth* reſolved to treat for Herſelf, and by Herſelf. *She was of Opinion*, ſays Cambden, *that it would not redound to the Honour of England, or Herſelf, to be reduced to the Neceſſity of ſupporting her Intereſts by a Dependence on* Spain. She

exerted the ſame Spirt, and behaved Her with the ſame Dignity, on a very remarkable O caſion, and in a very nice Conjuncture, at latter End of her Reign; at the Treaty of *Ver*

She deſpiſed the Offers made Her by *Henry fourth.* She reſolved to continue the War, a to ſupport alone the States of the *Low Countries*, ther than to ſuffer the Man in the World, w had the greateſt Obligations to Her, to treat Her.———True it is, that ſhe had Reaſon to diſſatisfied with his Behaviour; but beſides Th the good Underſtanding between this Prince a *Philip the ſecond* being promoted by the Court *Rome*; it is poſſible Queen *Elizabeth* might th ſuch Negotiators, as were devoted to that Cou not quite ſo proper to be truſted with the Inter of her Kingdom.

As ſoon as *Henry the ſecond* was dead, and Son *Francis the ſecond*, a young and in every Se a weak Prince, was on the Throne of *France*, acted with leſs Reſerve and Caution. The *Tre* which had been privately negotiated before w the Malecontents of *Scotland*, was now ſigned; Army marched to their Aſſiſtance; the *Fr* were driven out of that Kingdom; the *Reforma* was ſolemnly and legally eſtabliſhed there; Queen *Elizabeth* was the avowed Defender of Liberties, Privileges, and Religion of the *Sco* Nation.———*Francis the ſecond* lived a very ſh Time, and died without leaving any Childr The Fear therefore of an Union of the Crown *England* and *Scotland* with That of *France*, rified *Philip the ſecond* no longer. Queen *Eli beth* had therefore the more to fear. The Co of *France* had ſtill the ſame Bigotry, and the ſa Hatred to Her; though not the ſame Pretenſio

The Court of *Spain* could be now no more reſtrained, by any political Conſideration, from purſuing thoſe Deſigns againſt Her, even in Conjunction with *France*, which no other Conſideration had hitherto retarded.

The Projects formed and the Engagements taken between theſe Powers, at the Congreſs at *Bayonne*, were not abſolute Secrets. She felt the Effects of them every Day, in Conſpiracies againſt her Government, and even her Life. Too weak to defend Herſelf by Force on ſo many Sides, ſhe defended Herſelf by Stratagem; improved every Incident; and took ſome Advantage of every Turn. She contented Herſelf to countermine the Intrigues of the Courts of *Rome*, of *France*, and of *Spain*. With the *firſt* ſhe kept no Meaſures, becauſe ſhe could have no War. With the *two laſt* ſhe kept all Meaſures to prevent one. Though Queen *Elizabeth*'s whole Reign was properly a *State of War*, and there was no Point of Time in it, where ſhe was free from all Attacks, private as well as publick, indirect as well as direct; yet the firſt twenty-five Years of her Reign may be ſaid, in one Senſe, to have been neither a *State of War*, nor a *State of Peace*; becauſe both Sides pretended to look on the *Treaties of Peace* as ſubſiſting; and either diſavowed, or excuſed the Hoſtilities reciprocally committed, not conſtantly, but occaſionally committed. If ſhe had fallen into *this State* from That of a *ſettled Peace*, diſentangled from all Pretenſions, either of her own upon others, or of others upon her, there would be no Occaſion to admire her Conduct. But that ſhe ſhould be able, when ſhe neither had, nor could have a *ſettled, ſecure Peace* with her Neighbours, to ſtand ſo long on the ſlippery Verge of *War*, and avoid the Neceſſity of

engaging directly in it, till ſhe was in a Conditi of doing ſo with Succeſs, is juſtly Matter of t greateſt Admiration.———If ſhe had only aim to keep off the *evil Day*, it might at laſt have co upon Her with a double Weight of Misfortun If ſhe had only gained Time to prolong *Suſpen* ſhe might have loſt Opportunities; waſted h Strength; tired, jaded and exhauſted her Peopl But This was far from being the Caſe. She w in *this State* by good, not by bad Policy; and ſ made the Uſe ſhe deſigned of it. She diſappointe divided, and weakened her Enemies. She pr pared the Opportunities, which ſhe afterwards i proved. She united, animated, and enriched h People; and (as difficult as That may ſeem to for a Prince in ſuch a Situation) She maintain her ownDignity, and ſupported the Honour of t Nation.———To exemplify all theſe Particula would be to write her Hiſtory; but it is neceſſa to ſay ſomething upon them.

Of the *two Powers* abroad, from whom alo ſhe had any Thing to apprehend, and with wh ſhe was principally concerned, *France* gave her t leaſt and the ſhorteſt Trouble. *Charles the ni* came a *Minor* to the Crown. *Two Factions*, dru with religious Enthuſiaſm, and headed by Men the moſt deſperate Ambition, deſolated the Kin dom. The *Queen Mother* blew up the Flam firſt; and tried in vain afterwards to extingui them, by a Deluge of Blood. Queen *Elizabet* who had probably encouraged the famous Co ſpiracy of *Amboiſe*, which broke out juſt bef the Death of *Francis the ſecond*, continued to ab and ſupport the *Proteſtant Party*; but ſtill ſubord nately to ſuch Meaſures, as her Situation, rel tive

ively to *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, or *Spain*, obliged her o keep with *Charles the ninth*. Theſe Meaſures ere ſometimes ſuch, and even after the Maſſacre St. *Bartholomew*, as the Zeal of the *Huguenots* ould hardly forgive her. But ſhe went wiſely nd ſteadily on to her own Pupoſes.

Non ponebat enim Rumores ante ſalutem.

When *Henry the third* came to the Crown, nd the *League* was once formed, the Crown of *rance* wanted her Aſſiſtance, and had it; and as owerful as the *Princes* of the Houſe of *Lorraine* ere, they could give her little open Diſturbance; nleſs they prevailed in their wicked, and almoſt himerical Projects in *France*. With theſe Princes, nd their Faction, therefore, ſhe never kept any Meaſures; as they never kept any with Her. As olitick a Prince, as *Philip the ſecond* is eſteemed have been, he was amuſed by the Regard, hich Queen *Elizabeth* affected ſometimes for his erſon, and always for the *Treaties* ſubſiſting be- ween them; and he loſt the Opportunities, in hich he might have attacked Her with Advan- ge. The ſlow Councils of *Spain*, and the ſlower xecution of them, produced Opportunities, which er Sagacity and Vigour improved. The Support e gave to the *Huguenots* made the *Spaniards* afraid provoking Her, by too haſty and direct At- cks, to give the ſame Support to the People of e *Low Countries*. She turned their Game againſt em, and acted in the *Low Countries* in the ſame anner, as they acted in *Ireland*, and even in *Eng- nd*; but with better Effect. From the Year 577 ſhe began to favour this Revolt; and in the ear 1585 ſhe made a formal Treaty with the

States. Such of these Measures as could be co
cealed, she concealed. Such of them as cou
not be concealed, she excused, or endeavoured
justify and reconcile with the Treaties betwe
Spain and *England.*

As the Time she gained, and the Diversions
gave, by this Management, put it quite out of
Power of *France*, and made *Spain* less able to hi
her; so they alone put it in her Power to set
her Government, and to do all the great Thi
at home, of which we have spoken in other
pers*. We shall not repeat them here; but sh
conclude this Head by observing, in an Exam
or two, how she maintained her own Dignity
other Cases, besides That of *Treating*, which
taken Notice of above, and how she supported
Honour of the Nation, and the Interests of
Subjects.

During the Time she was the most careful
avoid a War with *Spain*, and had the most Rea
to be so, even in the Year 1568, whilst those
volutions, which broke out soon afterwards, w
preparing, She would not suffer the least Inj
to be offered to any of her Subjects with Impu
Some Vessels and Effects, belonging to an *En*
Merchant, had been seized by the *Spaniards* in
West-Indies. She did not made War upon Th
but she soon found and seized an Opportunity
resenting the Insult. She laid her Hands on v
great Sums of Money, claimed indeed by *Gen*
Merchants, but sent to the *Low Countries*, and
sign

* *Vid.* The first seven Volumes of the *Craftsm*
printed for *R. Franklin.*

igned, no Doubt, for the *Spaniſh* Service there. The Duke of *Alva* ſeized, in return, the Perſons nd Effects of the Subjects of *England*; and ſhe mmediately made Repriſals on Thoſe of the *Flem-ings*. What Compoſition was made with the *Genoueſe* does not, I think, appear; but as the eizure was to the Diſappointment and Loſs of *Spain*, ſo the Compoſition was probably to the dvantage of *England*; ſince, at this very Time, Queen *Elizabeth* diſcharged the Debts contracted y her *Father* and *Brother* to Foreigners. As to he Effects of the *Netherlands*, ſhe returned the Overplus of the Value, after having repaid to her wn Subjects the full Amount of their Loſſes. She arved for her People; and would not leave it to Diſpute, *what Reparation* they ſhould have; uch leſs whether they ſhould have any *Reparation*, *r not*.

Such a Conduct as This, which ſhe held, even hilſt ſhe kept Meaſures with *Spain*, and avoided War, foretold what might be expected from Her, and what ſhe actually performed, when ſhe thought it no longer expedient to keep the ſame Meaſures. But This will come, with other Re-flections, more properly under the next *general Head*; to which we think that the particular In-ſtances of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Wiſdom and Addreſs, in the Management of *foreign Affairs*, may be re-duced.

LETTER

LETTER XVI.

IF Queen *Elizabeth* conſidered every foreign In tereſt relatively to the *Intereſt of England*, Sh conſidered likewiſe every Meaſure to be taken i foreign Affairs relatively to the *Situation of Eng land*. This we eſtabliſh as the *ſecond general Hea* to which the particular Inſtances of her Wiſdon and Addreſs, in the Management of foreign A fairs, may be properly reduced.

She conſidered Herſelf as Queen of a Countr cut off from the *Continent*, and ſeparated by th *Sea* from all other Countries, except *Scotland* Her Conduct therefore towards *Scotland* was ver different, in many Reſpects, from That, whic ſhe held towards every other Nation.——— due Obſervation of theſe different Principles, o which Queen *Elizabeth* proceeded in the *divide State* of our Iſland, may ſerve to ſet, in a ſtronge and clearer Light, that ſingle Principle, whic remains to be followed in our *united State*.

The Situation of an *Iſland* affords great Advan tages, when they are wiſely improved; and whe they are neglected, as great Diſadvantages may re ſult from this very Situation.———The Reign now before us, is a glorious and unanſwerabl Proof that the Halcyon Days, ſo much boaſted o and ſo ſeldom found, Days of Proſperity, as we as Peace, may be enjoyed in an *Iſland*, whilſt a the neighbouring *Continent* is filled with Alarms and even laid waſte by War. But our own Hi tories will ſhew us likewiſe, how an *Iſland* ma approach, as it were, too near the *Continent*, an

b

e fatally drawn into that great Vortex. Leſt we ould ramble too widely in the large Field, which ens itſelf, let us confine our Reflections to ſome thoſe different Means and Objects, either of *fence*, or of *Offence*, which Nature, improved Art, preſents to People, who inhabit *Iſlands*, to People, who inhabit the *Continent*, accord- to their different Situations. A powerful *Navy* of indiſpenſable Neceſſity to the *former* of Theſe. Vithout it, They muſt be poor and expoſed. Vith it, They may be rich and ſecure. Barriers *fortified Towns*, and great *ſtanding Armies*, are of e ſame Neceſſity to the *latter*. Without this curity, They lye open to every Inroad, and at e Mercy of every Neighbour. With it, They ay be ſafe from foreign Danger, and even terrible Thoſe, who live round them. But then as e *Sea* is a Barrier of no Expence, and as a *ma- ime Force* carries no domeſtick Danger along ith it, but inriches the Community it defends, a *fortified Barrier*, and a *regular Army*, which e neceſſary to ſecure a Nation ſituate on the *Con- ent* againſt foreign Danger, carry great domeſ- k Inconveniencies, and even Dangers too, a- ng with them. Both of them, like Armour too avy to be borne, waſte the Strength of Thoſe, ho are covered by them; and an *Army*, like a *ord*, which recoils on the Blow, may wound e *Conſtitution*, it was meant to defend.——— t farther; as particular Families, by uniting gether, formed larger Societies, for their com- on Defence, and gave Riſe to the Kingdoms, d States, which have appeared in the World; theſe larger Societies have, ever ſince, found it ceſſary, or advantageous, to unite together in rious Manners; ſometimes by an entire Union,

or

or an Incorporation of different People into o Body politick; ſometimes by a partial, or fœd ral Union of diſtinct States in one common Cauſ and at all Times by *Alliances*, made on particul Occaſions, and ſuggeſted by a real, or ſeemi *Conformity of Intereſts*. This occaſional Uni by Alliances with other States, of which alo we are to ſpeak in this Place, is ſo neceſſary to the Nations on the *Continent*, that even the m powerful cannot ſubſiſt without it; and Tho who manage it beſt, are accounted wiſeſt. Th ſeveral Intereſts are the Objects of their Alliance and as the former are ſubject to change, the lat muſt vary with Them. Such Variations, wh ther occaſioned by the Courſe of Accidents, by the Paſſions of Men, though made by a fe will effect many; becauſe there always are, a always muſt be, Syſtems of *Alliances* ſubſiſting mong theſe Nations; and therefore, as a Char in ſome of the *Parts* of one Syſtem neceſſarily quires a Change in all the *reſt*; ſo the Alterat of *one Syſtem* neceſſarily requires an Alteration the *others*.

Thus are They always toſs'd from *Peace War*, and from *War* to *Peace*. Perpetual Ne tiation is the Life and Soul of their Governmen Their Well-being, nay their Safety at *home*, quires that They ſhould be always buſy *abroad*. is neceſſary for them to be *Mediators*, *Arbitrat* or, which is infinitely worſe, *Guaranties*; to contracting Parties in *preliminary*, *proviſional*, *explanatory Treaties*; in *defenſive*, or *offenſive A ances*; by which Means, They get over da Difficulties, by the Multiplication of laſting cumbrances.

The interfering and claſhing of their Rig

nd Pretenſions, and the various Obligations, by hich whey ſtand bound to one another, appear be and are the immediate Cauſes of all theſe iſputes and Contentions. But the principal and mote Cauſe ariſes from the Proximity and other ircumſtances of their Situations. That Neceſ-ry, or Advantage, which gave Occaſion to the riginal Engagements, has maintained and multi-lied them ſince; and the laſt would not be rea-onable, if the firſt had not been neceſſary.

Here then ariſes an eſſential Difference between hoſe Objects, which are proper to the Policy of n *Iſland*, and Thoſe, which are ſo to the Policy f the *Continent*; a Difference greatly to the Ad-antage of the *former*; the Circumſtances of hoſe Situation not requiring ſo conſtant and in-imate an Union with other States, either for De-ence or Offence, render unneceſſary a great Part f the Engagements, which prove ſuch heavy and lling Incumbrances on the *latter*.

An *Iſland* under *one Government*, advantageouſly ituated, rich in itſelf, richer by its Commerce, an have no Neceſſity, in the ordinary Courſe of Affairs, to take up the Policy of the *Continent*; to nter into the Syſtem of *Alliances* we have been peaking of; or, in ſhort, to act any other Part han That of a *friendly Neighbour* and a *fair Trader*. f an extraordinary Criſis happens on the *Conti-nent*, which may endanger the Safety even of Thoſe, who are ſeparated from it, (ſuch as we aw at the Beginning of the preſent Century) Self-Preſervation will no Doubt determine Men, as it ought, to unite by ſtricter *Alliances* with thoſe Powers, with whom They are occaſionally uni-ted by a more immediate Intereſt; but even in this Caſe, neither will *Self-Preſervation* require,

nor

nor good Policy ſuffer, that *ſuch a People* ſho
enter deep into the Quarrels, or involve themſel
intricately, much leſs continually, in the poli
cal Schemes of the *Continent*. We paſs over offe
ſive Caſes, becauſe it is manifeſt that the Peo
of an *Iſland* can have no Intereſt in making f
reign Acquiſitions; and that therefore it wo
be abſurd in Them to ſpend their Blood and Tre
ſure in acquiring only for others; or to *attack* a
farther than is neceſſary to *defend*.

We confine ourſelves to the Caſe of Defen
before-mentioned; and upon That we ſay,
People on the *Continent* may have Reaſon to e
gage as deeply in Defence of another Country,
if they defended the Walls of their own Tow
or the Doors of their own Houſes; becauſe an
ther Country may be the ſole Barrier of their ow
But This can never be reaſonably done by t
People of an *Iſland*, who have another, and
better Barrier than any the *Continent* can form f
them. *Such a People* are to look on their Engag
ments with other Countries, as on Outworks c
up in Haſte, which may ſerve to defeat a we
Attack, or to delay and diſappoint a ſtrong on
But it would be the Height of Folly in them
even in one of thoſe extraordinary Conjunctur
which we now ſuppoſe, to lay the whole Streſs
their Defence here; to ſpend their Strength in
properly; and to forego thoſe Advantages, whi
Nature has given them.

The Nations on the *Continent* might tea
them another Leſſon. They are careful to em
ploy every Advantage of their *Situation*; a *River*
a *Lake*; a *Ridge of Mountains*; and ſhall the In
habitants of an *Iſland* neglect the *Sea?* Shall the
do by Choice all, which other Nations are oblig

do by Neceſſity? Surely not; and if at any ime ſuch a Conduct can be proved neceſſary to rtain Purpoſes, we think it will reſult, from is Proof, that ſuch Purpoſes ſhould be laid aſide, t that ſuch Meaſures ſhould be purſued.

Theſe Reflections, with others of the ſame ind, preſent Themſelves naturally to Thoſe, ho conſider the Conduct of Queen *Elizabeth*, d the Events of her Reign. We may there- re conclude that they were, at leaſt, ſome of e Principles of her Government.

How ſhe formed, or rather how ſhe protected, d aided a Party, already formed in *Scotland*, on inciples of *Religion* and *Liberty*, has been ob- ved; as well as the Succeſs of this Meaſure, by hich the Troops of *France* were driven out of t Kingdom, and the Influence of *France* on e Government was either removed, or guarded ginſt. To maintain and improve this Advan- ge, was the great Affair of her Life. *Englana* s, with reſpect to *Scotland*, like a Kingdom on e *Continent*, and Queen *Elizabeth* employed, ith reſpect to *Scotland*, all the Policy of the *Con- nent*.

We find her buſy on that Side in almoſt every ge of her Hiſtory; almoſt always negotiating, d always intriguing. A Friend, an Enemy, a ediatrix, an Umpire, a Guarantee; ſhe played ery Part, which might keep others from hurting *tland*, and *Scotland* from hurting Her. Her rmies were at all Times ready to march, and r Fleets to ſail thither. As ſtrict an Oeconomy ſhe practiſed every where elſe, ſhe was profuſe ere; but her Profuſion turned to Account, and erefore deſerves another Name. There may be ch Schemes, ſuch Management, and ſuch Suc- ceſs

ceſs, as may render even the ſmalleſt Expe
Profuſion; but Thoſe of Queen *Elizabeth* w
ſufficient to juſtify the greateſt. The *ſecret*
vice of her Reign was private in *Tranſaction*
publick in *Effect*; not equally inſcrutable in *B*

About the fourteenth Year of her Reign,
had brought the Affairs of *Scotland* to ſuch a P
that ſhe ſeemed to have nothing to fear from t
Quarter. The Plots, in Favour of Queen *M*
had been diſcovered; the Inſurrections defeat
and the Duke of *Norfolk* executed in *England*.
Scotland, the ſame Party was broken. The
of *Morton*, a Man abſolutely devoted to Qu
Elizabeth, was Regent; the Caſtle of *Edinbu*
was taken; the Civil War was finiſhed with co
pleat Succeſs; and ſhe enjoyed great Tranquili
becauſe, according to *Rapin*'s Obſervation,
could now be only attacked by *Sea*; That is,
had now the whole Advantage of an *Iſland*.

This happy State did not continue long with
Interruption. *Morton* loſt, and reaſſumed
Power, was diſgraced, proſecuted, and at laſt
headed. King *James* had taken very young
Government of his Kingdom; and young, as
as old, was governed by his Favourites.
Party of his Mother in *Scotland* did not ind
riſe again, ſo as to give Queen *Elizabeth* any U
brage. But his general Character and his Be
viour, on ſome particular Occaſions, the C
racter of his Favourites, and the Intrigues t
were known to carry on, obliged her to reaſſu
if ſhe had ever laid it aſide, and to purſue her
tient Conduct towards *Scotland*. She purſued i
the End of her Reign; and although King *Ja*
when he had more Experience, and was be
adviſed, kept ſuch Meaſures with her, as w

ceſſary to ſecure and to facilitate his Succeſſion; t this wiſe Queen continued to give quite ano- er Attention to the Affairs of *Scotland*, than ſhe ve to Thoſe of any other Country; or would ve given to Theſe, if *Scotland* had been divided om *England* by the Sea,

It is impoſſible to make theſe Reflections, and ot to reflect, at the ſame Time, on that happy hange, which the *Union* of the two Kingdoms s brought about. We are now one Nation, un- r one Government; and muſt therefore always ve one common Intereſt; the ſame Friends, the me Foes, the ſame Principles of Security, and Danger. It is by Conſequence now in our ower, to take the intire Advantage of our Situ- ion; an Advantage, which would make us am- e Amends for ſeveral, which we want, and hich ſome of our Neighbours poſſeſs; an Advan- ge, which conſtantly attended to, and wiſely proved, would place the *Britiſh* Nation in ſuch ircumſtances of Happineſs and Glory, as the reateſt Empires could never boaſt. Far from be- g alarmed at every Motion on the *Continent*; r from being oppreſſed for the Support of *foreign chemes*; we might enjoy the ſecureſt Peace, and he moſt unenvied Plenty. Far from courting, r purchaſing the *Alliances* of other Nations, we ight ſee Them ſuing for Ours. Far from being ated or deſpiſed, for involving ourſelves in all the ittle Wrangles of the *Continent*, we might be loved nd reſpected by all Thoſe, who maintain the juſt allance of *Europe*, and be formidable to Thoſe lone who ſhould endeavour to break it.

Having made theſe few Reflections on that Part f Queen *Elizabeth*'s Policy, which regarded *Scot- nd*; it is neceſſary that we ſhould ſay ſomething of

of That, which regarded the Nations on the C
tinent. Now with Theſe it is plain ſhe took
feweſt Engagements ſhe poſſibly could, and ſhu
as induſtriouſly the Occaſions of mingling her
tereſts and Counſels with theirs, as ſhe ſought
Occaſions of mingling both with thoſe of *Scotl*

We believe, upon very good Grounds, that
riods of four or five Years might be pointed
in which this Nation has been a Party to m
Treaties, than were made by Queen *Elizabet*
the Courſe of forty-five Years; and yet we
ſume it will not be eaſy to ſhew, that this Na
had more imminent Dangers to avoid, and m
formidable Powers to reſiſt; or that ſuch E
were attained with greater Glory and Succe
Theſe, or any other Periods, than in the Reig
Queen *Elizabeth*. Let us deſcend into ſome P
ticulars.

With the *northern Crowns* ſhe kept in Term
Amity, and good Correſpondence; and had ſo
Negotiations with That of *Denmark*, concern
the Intereſts of her Subjects in Trade. The ſa
Intereſts drew Her into Negotiations with
Muſcovite, and ſhe found Means to conduct th
to her great Advantage.

The Settlement made in *Germany*, a little
fore the Abdication of *Charles the fifth*, continu
The Proteſtants were quiet there, and deſirou
remain ſo. The general Intereſt of Religion
not call upon Her to look that Way; and it is
dent, by the whole Conduct of her Reign, t
ſhe thought the particular Intereſts of her Ki
dom very little concerned in Thoſe of the *Emp*

How attentive ſoever ſhe might be to penetr
into the Councils of the Court of *Rome*, and
tr

ce the Intrigues of the *Vatican* from their Source; bore no Part whatever in the Affairs of *Italy*. In ſhort, as all the Meaſures ſhe took in foreign airs were conſidered relatively to the Situation *England*, ſhe had nothing to do in the much ateſt Part of the Buſineſs of the *Continent*; and was ſo far from entring into Engagements by ty, that ſhe was ſcarce ever concerned in Neiations about it. In *France*, *Spain* and the *Countries* ſhe had more to do; but even there Part ſhe took was ſtrictly no more, than the urity and Welfare of her own Kingdoms reired; and ſhe acted it in no other Manner, than ſuitable to the Situation of *England*.

The State of *Scotland*, of *Ireland*, and for ſome me of *England* itſelf, gave her juſt Reaſon to apehend that the *French*, or *Spaniards*, or both, ght get Footing there. Each of Theſe had, different Times, Pretenſions of their own to her own. The Cauſe of *Mary* Queen of *Scotland* orded them, for a long Time, both Pretence d Opportunity; and the united Force of the man-Catholick Party was, at all Times, ready ſupport their Enterprizes. *Spain* was the greatmaritime Power in *Europe*, and able to attempt Invaſion of *England*, even when Queen *Eliabeth* had been above thirty Years on the Throne, d had raiſed her Navy from the low Condition which ſhe found it. In a Word, the whole oaſt, from the Streight of *Gibraltar* almoſt to *tland*, belonged to *France* and *Spain*. Such ircumſtances formed a Conjuncture, wherein eſe two Powers had Advantages againſt Her, hich they could have had in no other; and ſhe was obliged to act towards Them in a differt Manner from what ſhe did towards the other Powers

Powers of the *Continent*; it was becauſe ſhe ſ
expoſed to loſe, at leaſt in Part, with Reſpec
Them, the Advantages of her *Situation*.

How ſhe acted towards them, has been obſer
already. She amuſed them and eluded their
ſigns, by the moſt artful Series of Managem
She ſought no *Alliances* againſt them with o
Nations; and though ſhe did not fail to abet
ſupport the Inſurrections of their Subjects,
even with Theſe ſhe was cautious of entring
Engagements by *Treaty*. She did it with the
guenots by a Treaty ſigned in 1562, which
Vidame of *Chartres* had negotiated. The Suc
of the Treaty, and the ungrateful Behaviou
the *Huguenots* to her, confirmed her in the Princ
of depending little on *Allies*, and much on her
She choſe rather to aſſiſt when and where
thought fit, and to aſſiſt *gratis*, than to be
down to the Conſequences of conſtant Obligati
for the notional Advantage of reciprocal Eng
ments.

In the Year 1577 ſhe began to take ſo intim
a Concern in the Affairs of the *Low Countries*,
the moſt important Counſels and Reſolution
thoſe States were communicated to Her; and
lent them an hundred thouſand Pounds; y
does not ſeem probable, that ſhe entered ſo
into a *formal Alliance* with them, though ſuch
Alliance be mentioned by *Meteren*, as well as *Ca*
den, and inſerted from the former in the *Colle*
of Treaties.

In the Year 1585 the Clouds gathered on ev
Side, and threatened Queen *Elizabeth* with
terrible Storm, Part of which fell upon Her,
Part of which ſhe averted. She beheld *P*
Maſter of *Portugal* as well as *Spain*. She bel

Duke of *Guiſe* growing apace to be Maſter of
nce. She ſaw theſe two Princes cloſely united
Principles, which might continue in Force long
ugh to compleat her Ruin. She ſaw the *Low*
ntries almoſt quite reduced by the Arms of
in; and the Proteſtants of *France* in the utmoſt
nger of being ſo by the *League.* Dangers from
land, and Dangers from *Scotland* impended over
r.

In ſuch a Criſis, more terrible, as we apprehend,
n any, which has threatened this Nation ſince
t Time, what was the Conduct of our heroick
een? Did ſhe immediately prepare to oppoſe
ſe Dangers, by making *Alliances* on the Conti-
nt? Did ſhe purchaſe Acceſſions to theſe Alli-
es? Did ſhe raiſe Armies, and pay Subſidies a-
ad? Did ſhe give Guaranties to every Prince
d State, who aſked them; and, in order to ward
inſt one Danger, ſow the Seeds of many? By
Means. She ſent indeed Sir *Thomas Bodley*, to
e King of *Denmark*, as well as to the Landgrave
Heſſe, and other Proteſtant Princes of the Em-
e, *to procure a League for Defence of their Reli-*
, ſays *Cambden*; but this League does not ap-
r, nor any other Effect of theſe Negotiations.
ſhe was very ſaving of her Money, it is likely, ſays
in, that ſhe did not employ the moſt proper Means
ring the Princes of Germany *into her Intereſts.*
e ſecured herſelf by a great deal of Management
the Side of *Scotland.* She aſſiſted the King of
varre, and the Prince of *Conde*, with Money
d Ships; and the *ſole Treaty* She made on the
ntiment was That with the States of the *Low*
ntries, concluded the 10th of *Auguſt* 1585 at
neſuch. Her chief Dependence was upon her
n Ability and Courage; upon the Affection and

Zea

Zeal of her People. Neither failed her. Sure being attacked, ſhe began the Attack. Wh *Cavendiſh* pillaged the Coaſts of *Chili* and *Peru*, ſent *Drake* to the Coaſts of *Spain*, *with Order burn all the Spaniſh Ships he ſhould meet.* Her ders were executed with the Spirit, with wh they were given. More than an hundred Veſ loaded with Proviſion and Ammunition, w burnt at *Gibraltar*. The *Spaniſh* Admiral was ſulted at the Mouth of the *Tagus*, and the S *niards* were taken, or deſtroyed, even under Eyes; an Infamy ſo great, that the Sufferin it was ſcarce in Example before that Time. Riches, coming from the *Indies* to *Spain*, into the Hands of the *Engliſh*. The Projects *Philip* were diſappointed in the Year 1587; when the Invaſion was attempted in the Year 15 his Army was blocked up in the Ports of the *Countries*, and his *invincible Armada* was beat, ſ tered and deſtroyed.

We have now gone through all we propoſe ſay at this Time, concerning the Conduct Queen *Elizabeth*, both at home and abroad; cerning that Conduct, which, by convincing People of her Goodneſs and her Wiſdom, proc from them thoſe large Returns of Gratitude, Duty, of Affection and Zeal, the ſole Foun tions, on which ſhe reſted her Authority and Security; and the ſole Foundations on which can be reſted, ſuitably to the Nature of our vernment. The Limitations, neceſſary to re *Monarchy* conſiſtent with *publick Liberty*, mu many and great; for which Reaſon, it has objected to them that they took off from Weight of Authority, and reſtrained that Fu of Power, which are many Times neceſſary t

erted, even for the Good of the whole Commu-ty. If this Objection was well founded, it ould be a ſufficient Anſwer, to ſay that a few cidental Inconveniencies, which may happen, d which may be recompenced too, in Govern-nt, deſerve not to be prevented, at the Expence leaving *Liberty* perpetually expoſed. But the eign of Queen *Elizabeth* proves, beyond Contra-ction, that a Prince like Her will enjoy, at the ead of the freeſt People on Earth, all the Au-rity, and all the Power neceſſary to promote joint Security,, Proſperity and Glory of Prince People; ſo that all the Objections, which can raiſed on this Side to the *Britiſh* Conſtitution Government, will center here; that it has not wided for ſtrengthening and enlarging the Au-rity and Power of a weak or a wicked Prince. A Prince, who never ſeparates the Intereſts juſt ntioned, and who purſues them wiſely, will e abſolute Power in the moſt limited Monar-. A Prince, who ſeparates theſe Intereſts, ns Government itſelf into *Faction*; and the *rit of Liberty* will riſe againſt him. An *arbi-ry Government* is ſuited to any Character. A *Government* requires a great, at leaſt a good . In the *former*, all Kinds and Degrees of er are in the Prince, or flow from him. In *latter*, his Powers are limited and confined. hen he wants to encreaſe, or extend them, he ſt derive the Faculty of doing ſo from his Peo-; and from hence it follows, that as long as h a Conſtitution remains entire, and uncorrup-, the Proſperity, nay the Eaſe, and even the rity of the Government, will depend on the ſpoſition of the *People* towards the *Prince*; as Diſpoſition of the *People* will always depend the Behaviour of the *Prince* towards the *People*.

Queen *Elizabeth* ſaw theſe Truths in all th
Force. She was both willing and able to prop
tion her Conduct to them. She never felt the
fore any Want of Power. She was ſupported
the *Spirit of Liberty*; and ſhe overcame Tha
Faction. Some of her Succeſſors either did not
theſe Truths in all their Force, or were unabl
proportion their Conduct to them. Theſe Prin
therefore felt the Limitations of our Monarchy
Shackles upon them. The *Spirit of Liberty* eit
oppoſed, or did not ſupport them; and they r
ſed up a *Spirit of Faction* to the Ruin of themſel
of their Families, and almoſt of the Nation.

LETTER XVII.

THE Scene we are now going to open
appear vaſtly different from That, wh
We have juſt cloſed.———Inſtead of an unin
rupted, pleaſing Harmony of Government,
ſhall meet with a perpetual, jarring Diſſonan
inſtead of Succeſs and Glory *abroad*, Diſappo
ment and Contempt; inſtead of Satisfaction, P
perity and Union *at home*, Diſcontent, Diſt
and at laſt Civil War, will preſent Themſelv
us in all their Horrors.

To conſider this melancholy Change, an
ſhew from whence it proceeded (whether from
Prince, or from the *People*) is our preſent Buſin
That it was brought about and carried on by
tion, muſt not be denied. The ſole Queſtion
therefore be, *which was the* factious *Side?* No
determine This, We need only enquire, w
Side was for uſurping on the *other*; which was
preſerving, and which for altering the eſtabli
C

onſtitution of Government. On *this Point* the ueſtion will turn; for in a Country of *Liberty*, a *limited Monarchy*, whatever ſome Perſons may ink, or deſire to have believed, it is certain that ere may be *Faction for the Crown*, as well as *a-inſt the Crown*. The Reaſon is plain. There y be Conſpiracies againſt *Liberty*, as well as a-inſt *Prerogative*. Private Intereſt may ſcreen, defend a *bad Adminiſtration*, as well as attack, undermine a *good One*. In ſhort, conſpiring ainſt any *one Part of the Conſtitution*, in Favour *another*, or perverting, to the Support of na-nal Grievances, the very Means, which were ſtituted to redreſs them, are deſtructive of the hole Frame of *ſuch a Government*, and are the per Characteriſticks of *Faction*.

On which Side *Faction*, thus defined, is likely be found the oftneſt, and to act the moſt effec-lly, We ſhall not ſtay to examine here. They, o have read the firſt of theſe Letters, may re-mber what is there ſaid, to ſhew the Difference ween the Motives and the Means, which a *nce* hath of uſurping on his *People*; and Thoſe, ich the *People* have of encroaching on their *nce*. We ſhall only obſerve, to our preſent rpoſe, that as He, who confines his Notions of *ction* to Oppoſitions made to the *Crown*, rea-s, in an *abſolute Monarchy*, in Favour of the *nſtitution*; ſo He, who confines them thus, rea-s, in a *limited Monarchy*, againſt the *Conſtitu-n*; is weak enough to deceive Himſelf, or wick-enough to attempt deceiving others; and in ei-er Caſe, is thus far a Betrayer of *publick Liberty*.

—On ſuch Principles as Theſe, We ſaid, in r laſt Paper, *that* Government *itſelf might be rned into* Faction, *and that ſome of* Queen Eliza-th's *Succeſſors had nurſed up a Spirit of* Faction,

to the Ruin of Themſelves, of their Families, and moſt of the Nation.——We preſume that T will appear, in the Courſe of our Enquiries, be undeniably true; and that there will be as lit Room to doubt whether the factious Conduct the *Court*, in the Reigns of King *James* and Ki *Charles the firſt*, gave a Riſe to all the Strugg between *Them* and their *People*, as there is Ro to deny that the Deſtruction of our Conſtitutio in Church and State, was the dreadful Con quence of theſe Struggles. The *Spirit of Liber* and the *Britiſh Conſtitution of Government*, wh Cauſe We are pleading, and whoſe Cauſe we ſorry there ſhould be ſo much Occaſion to ple will therefore, We hope, remain clear of all I putations.

We wiſh that this Juſtice could be done wi out opening Wounds, which are hardly yet inti ly healed, and without arraigning the Conduct *Princes*, whoſe Memories have been held in gr Veneration by many worthy Perſons; but fi This cannot be; nay, ſince the opening of th Wounds may contribute to the more effect healing of them; and ſince arraigning the C duct of *theſe Princes* hath been rendered the m neceſſary by the Accounts, which have been gi of it, and by the Principles, on which it h been defended; We muſt ſpeak with the fa Liberty of *Them*, as We have uſed in ſpeaking *Thoſe*, who reigned before Them.

The *Ægyptians* paid ſo much Reſpect to th very limited Monarchs, that when They me to warn theſe Princes againſt *particular Vices*, Th commended them for *oppoſite Virtues*. We cann perſuade ourſelves that this Method of reformi or inſtructing, by *Panegyrick*, (the uſual and m deadly Poiſon of *other Princes*) had a good Eff

Thoſe of *Ægypt*. But however This might , when theſe Princes were *dead*, notwithſtand- the Reſpect ſhewn to them *living**, They un- rwent the ſame Trial as the Cuſtom of the King- m had eſtabliſhed for all *private Perſons*, and neral Honours were equally denied to *Them*, and the meaneſt and moſt guilty of their *Subjects*, hen their Memories were condemned, on a ſo- mn and ſtrict Examination of the Conduct They d held in Life.

Though We propoſe to enquire with all this reedom; and though We are perſuaded that the eſult of theſe Enquiries will be a Confirmation what hath been advanced by us; yet are we ry far from admitting many of the Objections, hich have been made to the Conduct of King *ames* and King *Charles the firſt*. Much leſs do We approve thoſe cruel Inſinuations againſt Them, hich are to be found in ſeveral *Invectives*, not *iſtories*, dictated by a *Spirit of Faction*, not by e *Spirit of Liberty*. The *Spirit of Liberty* reflects the Errors of Princes with *Sorrow*, not with *riumph*, and is unwilling to aggravate what it iſhes had never happened.———In the Temper, hich *this Spirit* inſpires, therefore, We ſhall pro- eed. We ſhall dwell on no *Facts*, but ſuch as We think uncontroverted; and ſhall make no *eflections*, nor draw any *Conſequences* from them, ut ſuch as ariſe naturally and without the leaſt orce.———The Truth would not be ſo evident, s We preſume it is in this Caſe, if any Thing more was neceſſary to the Illuſtration of it.

Amongſt the many Advantages, which King *ames* had, on his Acceſſion to the Throne of

* *Diodor. Sic. l. 2. c. 3.*

England, We might very juſtly reckon the rece
Example of his *Predeceſſor*. Her Penetration d
covered the Conſequences of that great Change
the *Ballance of Property*, of which We have ſp
ken in *Letters* XI and XII; and ſhe accommodat
at once the whole Syſtem of her Government to
as We have there obſerved. ——— Whate
Doubts *ſhe* might have entertained, concerning t
Succeſs of her own Meaſures, before ſhe had e
perienced the happy Effects of them, King *Ja*
could reaſonably entertain none. Experience,
well as Reaſon, pointed out to Him the *ſole Pri*
ciple, on which He could eſtabliſh his Governme
with Advantage, or even with Safety; and Que
Elizabeth's Reign had every Year afforded H
freſh Proofs that *this Principle of Government*, whi
is eaſy in the Purſuit, is effectual in the End to
the Purpoſes, which a *good Man* and a *juſt Pri*
can deſire to obtain. But King *James* paid as l
tle Regard to her *Example*, as He did to her *M*
mory. In the *laſt Reſpect*, He was indecent.
the *other*, unwiſe. He boaſted moſt ridiculou
of an *Influence*, which He never had over h
Councils. Happy would it have been for Him,
his Family, and for this whole Nation, if *her E*
ample had really had a due *Influence* over *his Conduc*
or, at leaſt, if *his Example* had obtained leſs Infl
ence over the Conduct of his *Succeſſor*. — Fraug
with Learning, not with Knowledge; ignora
of the true Principles of Government; more
Stranger to our Conſtitution by his Notions a
his Habits of Thinking, than to our Country
his Birth; obſtinate, though not ſteady; miſl
by Self-Opinion, and confirmed in Error by ſ
perlative Pedantry, King *James the firſt* ſeemed
expect the *Love*, and to demand the *Obedience*
h

is Subjects, purely becauſe the *Crown* had dropt n his Head. Whereas Queen *Elizabeth* ſeemed, oth by her Declarations and her Actions, to think erſelf intitled to the *firſt*, and ſecure of the *laſt*, r no other Reaſon, than This; becauſe ſhe ore the Crown to the greateſt Advantage of Her eople. Her *good Senſe* taught her what He had ot found in his *Books*; that the Tyes between rince and *People* are not the ſame with Thoſe be-ween particular Perſons in *private Life*. Theſe erſons converſe and live familiarly together. Na-ural Sympathies therefore, more eaſily to be felt an deſcribed, may unite them, without the Mo-ves of Gratitude, or Expectation. Thoſe com-on, good Offices, which the Heart alone ſug-eſts, are often ſufficient to maintain ſuch Unions; nd a Man, who is neither a *Saint*, nor a *Hero*, ay hope to find and keep a Friend. But *publick*, *political*, or *State-friendſhip*, by which We mean n intimate and affectionate Union between the *overnors* and the *Governed*, cannot be contracted ithout Gratitude, or Expectation, nor maintai-ed without both. If it could; if Subjects were ttached to their Prince by a Kind of Inſtinct, as ard to be accounted for, and yet as prevalent as he Sympathies We have mentioned; the Aſſertors f the *divine Right of Princes*, and of the *univerſal bedience* due to them, would have had long ago more plauſible Argument than They have yet roduced, in favour of their Doctrines. They would have been able to ſtop the Mouths of all Gainſayers; even of *Him*, who required a Mira-le to become their Convert; and who reſolved never to believe that *Slavery was of divine Inſtitution*, till he beheld *Subjects born with Bunches on their Backs, like Camels*, and *Kings with Combs on their*

Heads, like Cocks; from which Marks it might collected that the *former* were designed to *lab and to ſuffer*, and the *latter* to *ſtrut and to cr* But till ſome ſuch Miracle is wrought, or the ſtinct ſuppoſed above is born with Men, We th it will remain true that the Union We ſpeak between *Prince* and *People*, neither can, nor ou to ſubſiſt on any other Terms, than Thoſe good Government on *one Part*, and of Gratit and Expectation on the *other*. —— This Un may be, and hath been maintained by *abſo Princes* with their People; becauſe it is not i poſſible that an *abſolute Prince* ſhould be a wiſe a good Man; and becauſe ſome ſuch there ha been. But here lies a Difference. The *abſo Monarch* may exert the whole Power of the Sta He may govern eaſily, ſafely and with all oth Advantages, though he neglects to cultivate t Union; or, which is worſe, though He breaks But the Caſe of a *limited Monarch* is not the ſam for the Reaſons, which We touched upon, at t End of our laſt Letter. It is therefore the i mediate, the perſonal, the higheſt Intereſt of ſu a Prince, as it is the Duty of every Prince, contract this Union and to maintain it inviola The Wiſdom of our Conſtitution hath made ſo; and, in making it ſo, hath imitated that d vine Wiſdom, which appears in the Conſtituti of the moral World. In This, it may be eaſi proved from a Conſideration of the Circumſtance in which We ſtand as Individuals, that the gen ral Good of Society is the particular Intereſt every Member. Our Creator deſigned therefo that We ſhould promote this general Good. It by Conſequence our Duty to do ſo; and ever Man, who believes a wiſe, all-directing Mind

and

d who knows that proportioning of *Means* to *ds* is eſſential to Wiſdom, muſt ſubſcribe to this pinion.———And yet, determined by falſe Ap-arances of Good, or attracted by the Force of mediate Objects, Men may, and They frequent-do, imagine that They purſue their particular d ſeparate Intereſt, whilſt They neglect, or act ainſt, the general and common Intereſt of Society. In like Manner, King *James the firſt* and *thoſe rinces*, who have trod in his Steps, imagined no ubt that They purſued a particular, ſeparate tereſt of *their own*, whilſt they neglected an nion with their *People*, and even made ſuch an nion impracticable, by tranſgreſſing, in Preten-ns and in Fact, the Bounds, which our Conſti-tion preſcribed to them. But the Miſtake is nal in both Caſes; for in both Caſes, *Intereſt* d *Duty* remain indiviſibly united, however they y be ſeparated in Opinion; and He, who ſins ainſt *one*, ſins moſt certainly againſt the *other*; ough the natural Conſequences of his Actions not appear immediately, nor on every Occaſion, follow.

Theſe Conſequences followed in a ſignal and rible Manner upon the Occaſions, which We re mentioned, and into the Particulars of which e ſhall deſcend ſome other Time. Theſe Ex-ples therefore are compleat. The *Cauſes* and the *fects* come together under one View; and if e carry our Obſervations forward to later Times, e ſhall ſee *Cauſes* of the ſame Kind laid again, d producing *Effects* of the ſame Nature; *Effects* ays proportionable to them; ſometimes *Jea-ſy*, *Diſcontent*, *Tumult*; ſometimes *open Reſiſtance*, d *Depoſition of the Prince*; for though, in all ſe Caſes, the *People* have ſuffered, as well as

the *Prince*; yet, in ſome, the *Prince* alone h
been undone; and thus, by an equal Diſtributi
of Juſtice, the Principal Share of the comm
Calamity hath fallen on *Him*, without whom
Part of it could have happened.

Though theſe general Reflections, which
have premiſed, may appear long to ſome of
Readers, and may ſeem too nearly allied to
flections already made; yet We hope for Ind
gence, on Account of the Importance of
Matter. It muſt ſurely be of Uſe to explain, w
clearly, and very fully, from whence the We
neſs of our Government, at ſome Times,
the Diſorders and Revolutions of it, at oth
have proceeded ſince *that Æra*, when our Liber
became better ſecured, and our Conſtitution ca
ble of greater Improvements, by a new Settlem
of the *Ballance of Property* and *Power*. No Po
hath been more miſtaken. None hath been m
artfully miſrepreſented.

LETTER XVIII.

WE have obſerved already of how great
vantage the Example of Queen *Eliza*
might have been to King *James the firſt*.
might have taught Him to ſtruggle through
moſt intricate Difficulties. But He had none
to encounter, till He created them by his
Management. ——— On the contrary, his
ceſſion to the Throne of *England* was accompa
with all the favourable Circumſtances of Eaſe
Security, which were neceſſary to form a C
juncture proper for Him; ſo that with Abili
mu

uch inferior to Thoſe of his Predeceſſor, He might
ve reigned as glorioufly abroad, and as happily at
me. —— Many of the Difficulties and Dangers,
hich ſurrounded Her, were perſonal to Her.
hey aroſe from her *Birth*; from her *Title*; and
om *That*, which *Mary* Queen of *Scotland* preten-
d. They therefore ceaſed with Her. Many
hers ſhe had conquered by a wiſe and ſteady
dminiſtration. Many had been worn out by
ength of Time; and many had been ſo changed
the courſe of Events, that King *James* was
e, where ſhe was moſt in Danger; and ſtrong,
here ſhe was weakeſt. —— His *Title* was not
nteſted; nor any Oppoſition, either open or ſe-
et, given to his Succeſſion. They, who had
unded ſo high the Right of his *Mother*, could
t refuſe to acknowledge the ſame Right in Him;
d the reſt of the Nation ſubmitted to it; for
w little Regard ſoever many of them might pay
this Right in their Hearts, or how great Suſ-
icion ſoever of his future Conduct might be juſtly
nfuſed into them by his paſt Behaviour, the Peo-
e would have a *King*, and there was no other
rince, in whom the *Proteſtant Intereſt* could unite
t that Time. ——— That Riddle of a *Plot*, in
hich Sir *Walter Raleigh* was involved, does not
eſerve to be mentioned, as an Exception to the
ational Unanimity We ſpeak of. ——— True it
that, in other Reſpects, the Nation was far
om being united, either by a Conformity of Opi-
ion, or by an Acquieſcence of Thoſe, who diſ-
ered from the Eſtabliſhment. ——— It was, no
Doubt, a ſevere Misfortune, and ſuch it continues
this very Hour, that the great and glorious
Work of the *Reformation*, being carried on at
ifferent Times, and in different Places, was car-

ried

ried on likewiſe without a general Concert. T
ſeveral Churches reformed Themſelves, accordi
to the different Circumſtances They were in, a
according to the different Characters of the *Fe*
who led the *Many* in each of them. The Sep
ration of them all from the Church of *Rome* w
intire; but, in *ſome*, it was thought proper
reform; in *others*, to alter the *whole Model*; in *ſo*
many Things were retained, which had been
Practice before the *Reformation*; in *others*, a to
Oppoſition of every Inſtance of Conformity wi
the Church of *Rome* ſeemed to be the ſole Standa
of Chriſtian Purity. — This Variety of Opinio
and Eſtabliſhments amongſt the *Reformed* was
great Evil in it ſelf; but this Evil was aggravat
by a Circumſtance of the moſt fatal Conſequenc
The *Reformers*, and eſpecially Thoſe, who ca
lateſt, as our excellent Mr. * *Hooker* obſerves,
enforcing too peremptorily their particular Mod
of *Reformation*, brought the People in many Ca
to receive and reſpect, as divine Laws, even tho
Orders and that Diſcipline, which Expediency
other political Motives had ſuggeſted. Now, t
natural Tendency of this Perſuaſion was not on
to render all Comprehenſion, or Reconciliatio
amongſt the *reformed Churches*, impracticable; b
to make the Diviſions, in any particular Churc
incurable. ——— Thus, when Queen *Elizabe*
compleated that Eſtabliſhment of a Church, whic
Edward the ſixth had begun, many diſſented fro
it; and the Scruples of private Conſcience we
pleaded againſt Submiſſion to the publick Authorit
of the State. —— If Regard had been paid to al
who petitioned the *Queen*, or admoniſhed the *Par*
liament

Eccl. Polity, *Pref.*

ment, in the Heat of theſe Times, it ſeems pro-
ble that no Eſtabliſhment at all could have been
ade; and if none had been made, an *eccleſiaſtical*
archy muſt have enſued. —— How far the Num-
r of *Separatiſts* might have been leſſened by
ore Compliances with the *learned* and *moderate*
nongſt them, (for *ſuch* there certainly were)
e ſhall neither preſume to determine, nor go a-
ut to enquire. It is ſufficient for our preſent
rpoſe to obſerve, that although theſe Seeds of
iſturbance had been ſowed before the Acceſſion
King *James*; yet no Diſturbance had happened,
r was any likely to happen at that Time. The
eaſures, which had been purſued, and the Tem-
r, which had been obſerved in Queen *Elizabeth*'s
ign, tended to diminiſh the religious Oppoſition
a ſlow, a gentle, and for that very Reaſon an
ectual Progreſſion; and, in the mean while, to
event ſuch Conſequences of it, as might diſor-
r, or weaken the Government. ——— By the
ws, which were made, the ſeveral, diſſenting
ts were diſcouraged and kept in Awe; but by
e Execution of theſe Laws, They were not ex-
perated. They were puniſhed, not provoked.
hey felt the Weight of the Government, as of-
n as They attempted to diſturb it, but They
ver felt the Oppreſſion of *Party*; and when
hey were treated like *Factions*, They had not
e Pretence to complain that they were treated ſo
a *Faction*. ——— Upon this Foot there was
en Room to hope, that when the firſt Fire of
ſe Mens Zeal was ſpent, reaſonable Terms of
nion with the eſtabliſhed Church might be ac-
pted by ſuch of them as were not intoxicated
th Fanaticiſm. Such as Theſe were Friends to
der, though they diſputed about it, and could
have

have the leſs Pretence to reject with Obſtina
That, which had been ſettled by Queen *Elizabe*
becauſe They knew that their *own Diſcipline* h
been eſtabliſhed where it prevailed, as the Chur
of *England* had been, by the *ſupreme Authori*
that it had been made a *Law of the Country*; t
that the Poople had been bound by Oath to
Maintenance of it; and that *Calvin* himſelf h
been a moſt rigorous Exactor of Conformity to
— If ſuch as *Theſe* had been once incorpora
with the *eſtabliſhed Church*, the remaining *Sectar*
would have been of little Moment, either
Numbers, or Reputation; and the very Mea
which were proper to gain *Theſe*, were likew
the moſt effectual to hinder the Increaſe of *The*
and of the *other Sectaries* in the mean Time.—
Upon the whole Matter, We think it very pl
that King *James the firſt*, beſides the Advant
of coming to the Crown, after all the Difficul
and Dangers of compleating the *Reformation*, a
eſtabliſhing a new Church were over, had an e
and ſecure Opportunity of preventing any h
Conſequences, which might be apprehended fr
the Diviſions of his Proteſtant Subjects; and t
the Improvement of this Opportunity, conſi
in giving neither Alarm to the *well-affected*,
Pretence to the *factious*.

The Deſigns of the *Roman-Catholick-Party*
gainſt the Conſtitution in Church and State, w
carried on with as much Rage, but not with
much Strength as ever. The *Hydra-Heads*, whi
ſprouted continually out of that Body in the *forn*
Reign, had been lopt ſo often, that they appea
more rarely; and if the Venom of *that Princi*
which produced them, was not abated; yet ma
of the Springs, which fed and nouriſhed it, w
exhauſted.

chauſted. The *Guiſes*, *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, *Philip the ſecond*, were dead. The *Reformation* was eſtabliſhed; not only in outward Form, but in the Hearts of Men. It was grown up to be a Part, and a favourite Part, of the Conſtitution. The *Spirit of Liberty* had blended our *civil* and *religious Rights* together, and was become equally jealous of both. Let us add (for We may add it with great Juſtice) that the Church of *England* was, by the Sobriety, Wiſdom and Sanctity of her Inſtitution, eſtabliſhed on a Rock; that this Rock was defended by the greateſt Number of excellent Men, which any Chriſtian Church could boaſt of; and from all This let us conclude, that as ſhe was able to reſiſt the Attacks of *thoſe Sects*, which private Conceit, miſtaken Zeal, ſome Enthuſiaſm, and perhaps ſome Faction, had nurſed up in her own Boſom; ſo ſhe was better able than any other Proteſtant Church to defend Herſelf, and the State too, againſt the Falacies, the Seductions, and the Violence of *Rome*. The Policy of *this Court* ſaw it, and neglected nothing to prevent the Conſequences. Seminaries had been erected at *Doway* and other Places abroad, for the Education of *Engliſh* Youth in Popery. *Gregory the thirteenth* had given the Direction of That, which was erected at *Rome*, to the *Jeſuits*; and upon that Occaſion *theſe Incendiaries* crept into *England*. If we may believe ſome Accounts, they mingled themſelves amongſt the Clergy of the Church of *England* and the *Puritan Miniſters*. That they took all Methods to foment our Diviſions is probable; and that They were not Men, who would ſtick at any, may be certainly collected from that Account of their Conduct here, and of the Doctrines they taught, which is contained in the Complaints exhibited

exhibited againſt them by the Reſt of the * *Popiſh Clergy.*

Thus was the Spirit of the Church and Cou of *Rome* kept up here, even at the Time of t Acceſſion of King *James*; a Spirit, which mig ſerve to bring about an Aſſaſſination, or any ba barous and deſperate Stroke, (like That of t *Gun-Powder-Treaſon)* which a few Enthuſia were capable of executing; but not to ſubve the *Reformation*, and introduce *Popery* anew. T Efforts of *this Party* now were like the laſt Co vulſions of a ſtrong Body, mortally wounde frightful to behold; ſufficient to hurt others; b Tokens of Death, not Symptoms of Recovery. King *James* had it therefore in his Power to ke down with Eaſe a *Party*, which Queen *Elizab* had ſubdued with Pain; and whatever Impreſſi the bloody Deſigns they had often formed, a ſometimes brought to Effect, might make on h Mind; certain it was, and the Event made th Certainty undeniable, that no Degree of Favo to them, except the utmoſt, could effectually ſ cure Him againſt their Attempts; and that t leaſt Degree of Favour ſhewn, or Encouragemen given them, would be productive of the greate national Miſchief.

We have dwelt the longer on theſe Points *religious Diviſions*, becauſe We think a clear an juſt Notion of them abſolutely neceſſary to fix right Opinion, concerning one of the princip Cauſes, which were laid in this Reign, of all th national Calamities, that followed. —— W ſhall mention the other Advantages, which a tende

* *Thuan. lib.* 126.

ded King *James the first*, as *briefly* as We can;
t becauſe They were ſmall, (for on the con-
ry, They were exceedingly great) but becauſe
ey are more notorious, and have no need of
ing ſo much developed, in order to be made ſen-
le.

Thus, for Inſtance, the different Condition, in
hich He found the *Navy*, the *Commerce*, and the
ealth of the Nation, as well as the Revenues of
e *Crown*, from That, in which Queen *Elizabeth*
d found them all at her Aceſſion, is known in
neral by every one, who hath dipt into Hiſtory.
ithout entering into more Particulars therefore
an We have done already, We may venture to
nclude that He reaped the Benefit of her Oeco-
my, and was a rich, as well as a powerful King.
e know very well that when the Seſſion of Par-
ment was opened by Commiſſion in 1610, by
e Earls of *Suffolk* and *Salisbury*, one of the Rea-
s urged, for demanding Money of the *Commons*,
s grounded on a Debt of Queen *Elizabeth*,
hich was ſaid to have abſorbed 350,000 l. due
the laſt Subſidies granted to Her. If this Fact
s true, all that reſulted from it is; *firſt*, that
een *Elizabeth* left a Mortgage, on the Lands of
e Crown, and Money enough to diſcharge it;
ndly, that King *James* parted with his Money
recover his Lands; and We ſhall not oppoſe
y Perſon, who will charitably believe that this
ince would have paid the Debts of his Predeceſſor,
ough they had not been thus ſecured, out of the
oney ſhe left in her Coffers; becauſe to have
ne otherwiſe, would have been a manifeſt Vio-
ion of all the Rules of Religion, Honour and
mmon Morality. But We much doubt whe-
er even this Averment of the Lords, who opened
the

the Seſſion, will have any great Weight, whe
ſhall be conſidered that their whole Diſcourſe
too *miniſterial* to be *ſincere*; and that ſome of
Reaſons, by which they accounted for the Ki
Want of Money (ſuch, for Inſtance, as the Cha
of protecting his Wife and Children from be
robbed on the Road to *London*) were really b
leſque.

The Advantages, which this Prince had in
Situation of *foreign Affairs*, both at his Acceſſio
the Throne, and during the greateſt Part of
Reign, were remarkably great; and We do
whether it is poſſible to find more than *one Conju
ture* equally favourable ſince that Time. —
Philip the third was on the Throne of *Spain*
Prince of ſmall Capacity, and leſs Applicati
governed by his Favourite, and his Favourite
teſted by the People. Before the End of K
James's Reign He died; and *Philip the fourth*,
Son, ſucceeded; a Youth of ſixteen Years
and governed as abſolutely by *Olivarez*, as
Father had been by the Duke of *Lerma*. The
cleniion of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy haſtened on ap
under theſe Princes. It is ſaid that *Philip*
third refuſed to ſupport the *Roman-Catholick-Pa*
in the Beginning of the Reign of King *Ja*
which is the more probable, on Account of the e
and precipitate Steps made by *this Prince*, tow
a Peace with *Spain*. The Defeat of *Don Joh*
Aquila in *Ireland*, and the intire Reduction
Tyrone, which happened a little before the De
of Queen *Elizabeth*, diſcouraged the *Spaniards* f
making any more Attempts of that Kind. T
turned their Eyes from theſe Iſlands to the Co
nent; to the *Low Countries* and to *Germany*, w
t

gy continued, during the Courſe of many Years, conſume their Remains of Strength, in abetting e ambitious Projects of that Branch of the Houſe *Auſtria*.

As King *James* had nothing to apprehend from e Enmity of *Spain*, ſo he was ſecure of the iendſhip of *France*. *Henry the fourth* was now ablifhed on that Throne. He was in Peace in- d with *Spain*, but intended not to be ſo long. e are very far from believing that *this Prince* uld ſeriouſly entertain ſo chimerical a Project as hat of making an intire new Settlement of *Eu-*, by dividing it into *fifteen States*, which *Pare-* and other Authors have related, upon the Faith the Compilers of *Sully's Memoirs*; but, without oubt, He had great Views of checking the Am- ion, and reducing the Power of the Houſe of ſtria. It was therefore his Intereſt to live well h the King of *Great Britain*; and accordingly ſent the Marquiſs of *Roſny*, afterwards Duke *Sully*, to renew the Treaties with King *James*, ſoon almoſt as this Prince was ſeated on the rone of *England*. When *Henry the fourth* was bbed by *Ravaillac*, a Minority followed in *France*, l the Counſels of that Court were, for many ars, chiefly employed about their own Affairs; that nothing could happen on that Side, even r this great Change, to give the leaſt Diſtur- nce to King *James*.

The States of the *Low Countries* were no longer the ſame diſtreſſed Condition. Their *Common-* *alth* had taken Form; their *naval Force* was reaſing; and their *Commerce* extending itſelf ry Day. *Oſtend* kept the *Spaniſh* Forces at Bay more than three Years; and when *Spinola* de himſelf Maſter of that Heap of Ruins, the *Dutch*

Dutch thought Themſelves ſufficiently recompe
by the Acquiſition, which they had made, in
mean Time, of *Sluyce* and other important Pla
The Truce of eight Months between *Spain*
the *States* was ſigned in 1607. It was prolon
afterwards; and in the Year 1609, the Truc
twelve Years was concluded at *Antwerp*; by wh
the King of *Spain* was forced to acknowledge
Liberty and Independency of the *united Provi*
Thus was that *Commonwealth* eſtabliſhed, to
a great and laſting Acceſſion of Strength to
Proteſtant Intereſt; and King *James* might
reaped the Benefit of an uſeful Alliance, w
Queen *Elizabeth* had no other Advantage
That of defending the oppreſſed, and diver
Forces of a common Enemy.

The Affairs of the *North*, indeed, were in g
Confuſion about the ſame Time. The Crow
Sweden belonged to *Sigiſmund* in Courſe of
ſcent; but *Sigiſmund* was a *Papiſt* and Kin
Poland. For both theſe Reaſons, He had
excluded, and his Uncle *Charles* preferred to
Throne by the States of *Sweden*; who provi
by the Act of Settlement, not only that t
Kings ſhould be of the *Religion* of the Coun
but that none of the Princes of the royal Fa
ſhould accept *another Crown*, nor any *foreign*
minions. Their Experience, it ſeems, had ſh
Them the Neceſſity of ſuch Limitations.
gave Occaſion to thoſe long and cruel Wars, wh
followed between *Sweden* and *Poland*. Others
ceeded between *Sweden* and *Denmark*; but
Scene of them all was ſo remote, and the Inte
of this Country ſo abſolutely unconcerned
the Events of them, that He, who ſhould have
viſed King *James* to take any Part in them, wo
ha

re paſſed, in thoſe Days, for a very *bad Politi-*

The indolent *Rodolphus* ſlept on the Throne of Empire till the Year 1614. His Brother *tthias* ſucceeded Him; and their Couſin *Fer-nd* ſucceeded *Matthias*. During the Reign of *dolphus*, there were Troubles in *Hungary*, in *nſilvania*, in *Bohemia*, and in ſeveral Parts of *Empire*. Moſt of them were cauſed, all of m were fomented, by *religious Diviſions*. Du-g the Reign of *Matthias*, theſe Troubles in-aſed. They grew up to Maturity, as the Ac-ſion of *Ferdinand* to the Empire approached. *Bohemians*, long oppreſſed, and long provoked, k Arms at laſt in 1618. Many Cauſes con-red to render all Accommodation impractica-. Amongſt the principal were the Deſigns, ich all the Branches of the Houſe of *Auſtria* had and begun to execute againſt *Liberty* and the *teſtant Religion* in *Germany*; the Character of *dinand*, violent, cruel, a Bigot, though artful; , to ſpeak impartially, the Ambition of *Fre-ck*, Elector *Palatine*. If this Ambition had n the ſole Motive to engage King *James* in ſe Quarrels, We muſt think that He could not re anſwered to his own People the engaging in n, as popular as the *Palatine*, his *Wife*, and his *ſe* were in *England*. But theſe Quarrels were another Importance. *Frederick* loſt not only Crown of *Bohemia*, but his *own Patrimony*. *Proteſtant Religion* and the *Liberty of Germany* re well nigh ſacrificed to the Bigotry and Am-ion of the *Emperor*; ſo that the Intereſt of *this tion*, as well as the *King's Family Intereſt*, was y much concerned to prevent theſe Conſequen-; and yet, even upon this Foot, We muſt like-wiſe

wiſe think that it would not have been long po
lar in thoſe Days, when the Memory of Qu
Elizabeth's Policy was freſh in the Minds of M
to have maintained great Armies on the Contin
and to have fed with Subſidies ſo many hun
Princes, who had, at leaſt in the Beginning,
thing leſs at Heart than the common Intereſt

This difficult and dangerous Situation of Af
on the Continent, in which We allow that K
James ought to have taken ſome Part, ma
thought, perhaps, to form an Exception to w
hath been ſaid, concerning thoſe Circumſtanc
Advantage, of Eaſe, and Security, which acc
panied the Reign of *this Prince*; but there wi
Room to think ſo no longer, when it ſhall be c
ſidered that King *James* had Time and Mean
prepare for this critical Conjuncture. The
treſs in *foreign Affairs* began with Queen *El*
beth's Reign; and ſhe was in Danger abroad,
fore ſhe was ſettled on her Throne at home;
He had reign'd near *eighteen Years* before any Th
happened on the Continent, which could give
a juſt Occaſion to act vigorouſly in that Scene.
ſides when this Occaſion did happen, He had
his Power to have acted with great Glory to *Him*
and effectually for the Service of *Thoſe*, whom
was his Intereſt to ſupport, without taking
other Part than That, which becomes a *Kin*
England, in Oppoſition to That, which becom
Prince on the Continent, and agreeably to the P
ciples of his *Predeceſſor*'s Conduct. This will
pear evidently true, when we come to conſider
Part He did take; and We ſhall inſiſt upo
the rather, becauſe We obſerve with how m
Affectation the *Caſe*, We are now ſpeaking of,
been quoted as parallel to the *preſent Situation*
Affairs; and how impertinently it hath been

n for granted, that King *James the first* was ndemned in his own Time, and hath been con-nned ſince, for not doing what theſe *Timeſerv-Politicians* recommend; That is, for entangling mſelf in the *Affairs of the Empire*, as if He had en a *Prince of the Empire*; and for not acting every Appearance of Danger, or even of In-nveniency to any little State of *Germany*, in h a Manner as is agreeable neither to the *In-eſt*, nor *Situation of our Iſland*.

What hath been ſaid may be ſufficient to ſhew w few the Difficulties were, compared with the vantages, which King *James* had to encounter h at home and abroad; and how fortunate a njuncture was prepared for Him by the Wiſ-m of his *Predeceſſor*, and by an happy Combi-tion of Circumſtances.——What Uſe he made theſe Advantages, what Conduct He held, and at Conſequences it had, muſt be the Subject of other Diſcourſe.

LETTER XIX.

Y what hath been ſaid, in former Letters, We think it appears that from the Time our nſtitution ſettled on the Foundation, on which emains ſtill, there hath been not only no Poſſi-ty of governing this Nation with Strength and gnity, without the Concurrence of the People their *repreſentative Body*, nor with Eaſe and ety without their Concurrence in their *collective dy*; but that this Concurrence hath depended, d does and muſt always, depend, on the Union of

of Intereſt and Affection between the *King* a
his *Subjects*.

We beg Leave to repeat that Queen *Eliza*
ſaw This to be a ſure, and the only ſure Princi
on which ſhe could eſtabliſh her Government
der *ſuch a Conſtitution*; that ſhe very wiſely t
the Government on the Terms of the *Conſtitut*
and the *Conſtitution* as ſhe found it; that inſtea
ſtruggling through Trouble and Danger to b
the *Conſtitution* to any particular Notions,
Views of her own, ſhe accommodated her
tions, her Views, and her whole Character
it.———Let us obſerve, by the Way, that T
is no more than what every *Prince* ought to
and what every *free People* will expect and e
too, if Need be, that He ſhould do. *He* is m
for *their Sakes*, not *They* for *his*. He is raiſed
maintain, not to alter the *Conſtitution*.

Now King *James* begun and continued, thro
the whole Courſe of his Reign, to govern with
any Regard to this Principle; nay, in abſo
Defiance of it. He choſe *other Expedients* of
vernment, and truſted to ſo many *broken R*
Without any Talents to procure the Eſteem,
awakened the Jealouſy and never courted the g
Will of his People; but, inſtead of it, endeavo
to inſtil into their Minds what was rooted in
own, a very good Opinion of *Himſelf*, and a
mean Opinion of *Them*. He endeavoured to
ſuade Men, who felt that the *Ballance of Pro*
was on their Side, and that They held a g
Share of the *ſupreme Power* in their Hands,
though They had *this Property*, yet They ha
Right, or a very precarious one, to *this Po*
He meant, by the Force of *new-fangled O*
ons, to attach the Nation to Him, as Queen *E*
beth had done by the Tyes of *Affection* and *C*
de

nce; or He meant to govern without the *Con-rrence of the Nation*; or He meant *nothing*. The *firſt* was chimerical, the *ſecond* was wicked, nd the *third* was ſtupid.——*Elizabeth* had been alous of her *Prerogative*, but moderate in the xerciſe of it. Wiſer *James* imagined that the gher He carried it, and the more rigorouſly He erted it, the more ſtrongly He ſhould be ſeated his Throne. He miſtook the Weight for the rength of a Scepter; and did not conſider that is never ſo likely to ſlip, or to be wrenched out a Prince's Hands, as when it is heavieſt. He ver reflected, that *Prerogative* is of the Nature of *Spring*, which by much ſtraining will certainly lax, and often break; that in *one Caſe* it be-omes of little, and in the *other* of no Uſe at all.

As abſurd as the Notions and Principles of Go-rnment were, by which King *James* hoped to tabliſh his Authority, He found Numbers to a-pt them; for Numbers are at all Times liable be deceived, ready to be tempted, and prone be corrupted.——New Syſtems of *Law* and *licy* were not only received, but propagated. me Men were heated by *Oppoſition*. Others re educated in *Prejudice*. The plaineſt Rights the *People* were called in Queſtion. The leaſt tifiable Pretenſions of the *Crown* were eſtabliſhed true Axioms of Government, and certain inciples of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution. What Fa-er *Paul* obſerves to have happened in the *Church*, ppened here in the *State*. Our Court, like hat of *Rome*, by affirming and denying boldly, d by inſiſting peremptorily, brought many hings to be received as *certain*, which had been ver *proved*, and many others to be looked on as blematical, which had been often *demonſtrated*.

Thus were *thoſe Diviſions* created, which could lone render the *others* fatal. Diſputes about t Uſe of the *Surplice*, or the *Croſs in Baptiſ* would not have unſheathed all the Swords in t Nation. *Puritaniſm* neither did, nor could ma ſuch deadly Wounds; but when they were on made, *Puritaniſm* feſtered in the Sore, and re dered them mortal. King *James* conjured up, uſing Tricks of Government, that Storm which his *Succeſſor* periſhed. His *Succeſſor*, (We will finiſh the Sketch We have begun) a ligious and a juſt Prince, came a *Party-man* the Throne. His *Prejudices*, confirmed by *Hab* fortified by the *Flattery* of his Courtiers, and pr voked by the *Oppoſition*, which his Father and met with, carried Him to continue an Invaſi on the *People's Rights*, whilſt He imagined Him only concerned in the Defence of *his own*. T *Faction of the Court* tainted the *Nation*, and g Life and Strength, if it did not give Being, to *Factions in the State*. If the *Spirit of Liberty* co have prevailed in Time againſt the *firſt*, there been no Danger from the *others*. But the lo and obſtinate Reſiſtance of the *firſt* gave Ti and Opportunity, and even Aſſiſtance, to the *oth* to extinguiſh *this Spirit*. *Cavaliers* and *Roundhe* divided the Nation, like *Yorkiſts* and *Lancaſtri* No other Option was left at laſt. To recon theſe Diſputes by *Treaty* became impractica when neither Side would truſt the other. To minate them by the *Sword*, was to fight not *preſerving the Conſtitution*, but for the *Manner deſtroying it*. The Conſtitution might have b deſtroyed, under Pretence of *Prerogative*. It deſtroyed under Pretence of *Liberty*. We mi have fallen under *abſolute Monarchy*. We fell i

abſo

bſolute Anarchy. The Sum of all is This. We were deſtroyed by *Faction*; but *Faction* prevailed at *Court* near forty Years before it prevailed amongſt the *People*. It was the original Principle on *one Side*. It was an Accident on the *other*. *Churchmen* and *Royaliſts* attacked the Conſtitution. *Puritans* and *Commonwealths-Men*, and, above all, a motley Race of *preciſe Knaves* and *enthuſiaſtick Madmen*, ruined it. But the *laſt* could never have happened, if the *firſt* had not; and whoever will diſpaſſionately trace the Cauſes of that deteſtable *Civil War*, will find them laid in the Conduct of King *James the firſt*, as early as his Acceſſion to the Throne of *England*.

Having given this general Idea of the *two Reigns*, which followed That of Queen *Elizabeth*, it is Time to examine whether this Idea of them can be ſupported by a Series of uncontroverted Facts. Let us deſcend into ſome Particulars.

A Prince, that is invited, or comes newly to a Kingdom, ſays *Wilſon*, *muſt have his Chariot Wheels ſmooth ſhod*; and ſurely if ever Prince had Motives and an Opportunity to render Himſelf popular, King *James* had both. *Eſſex*, *Southampton* and others (even *Cecil*, a principal Miniſter of the late Queen) had held a Correſpondence with Him, for their own private Intereſt; but the Millions, who ſubmitted to his Acceſſion, ſubmitted to it upon Truſt, and were determined by the Nature of the *Conjuncture*, not by any Knowledge of the *Perſons*, who compoſed this new royal Family. It was not therefore enough for them to be placed in and about the Throne. Their true Intereſt required that the *Hearts of the People* ſhould be gained to them; and that Popularity ſhould ſupply that Spirit in their Favour, which ſeldom fails to ope-

rate in Favour of thoſe Princes, who are born an
bred amongſt the People They are to gover
The Opportunity of doing This lay fairly befo
King *James*. He was received with Tranſpor
of Joy, and all Ranks of Men made their Cou
to Him.——If He looked on this *national B*
haviour (for ſo it was) to be the Effect of a Deſi
in the People to endear Themſelves to Him, an
to unite cloſely with Him; This ſhould have ſug
geſted to his Mind the Eaſe, with which H
might acquire Popularity, by improving the Di
poſition, and captivate the good Will of a Peopl
ſo deſirous to be pleaſed with their King. If H
looked on this *national Behaviour* as the Effect
Levity, Inconſtancy and Love of Change,
ſhould have taught Him to apprehend how ſoo
this *Honey-Moon* would paſs away; how ſoon t
Stream of *popular Favour* might turn againſt Hi
and how ſoon They, who ſeemed to have forg
Queen *Elizabeth*, might return to regret Her.
But That, which a *Scotſman* foretold, happene
This Behaviour of the *Engliſh* ſpoiled a *good Kin*
or made a *bad King worſe*. It was natural fo
vain Man to believe what his *Flatterers* told Hi
and what *He*, his own *greateſt Flatterer*, told Hi
ſelf; that theſe Applauſes and Tranſports of
People were due to his *eminent Merit*, and were
Homage paid for the Honour He did Them
accepting their Crown.—He took therefore mu
State. He did not indeed make his Journey,
Henry the ſeventh made his Entry into *London*, i
cloſe Chariot; but He forbid by Proclamation
Concourſe of the People to Him. * *He diſper*
t

* Wilſon.

them with *Frowns*, that *We* may not ſay with *Curſes*.——Such different Turns of Thought can *Vanity* inſpire. *Some* will be reſpected, like *eaſtern Monarchs*, unſeen within the Shrine of their Court. *Others* grow fond of publick Triumphs; delight in noiſy Acclamations; and are pleaſed to drive, like *Indian Pagods*, over a proſtrate Crowd.

As much as King *James* neglected to gain the *Publick*, even at the cheap Price of *Affability*, He ſunk into low Familiarity with his *Favourites*, and was profuſe of Riches and Honours to *particular Men*. He beſtowed, at firſt, on a *Few*, and afterwards on *one Man*, that Affection, which He had promiſed the *whole Nation*, in ſome of the plauſible, common-place Diſcourſes, which He held at certain Times. There is no need of mentioning the particular Inſtances of a *Profuſion* He acknowledged Himſelf. The Eſtates He gave to his *Courtiers* impoveriſhed the *Crown*; and as it always happens, the *People* were forced to pay for thoſe very *Grants*, at which They murmured. *Honours* He beſtowed in ſo laviſh a Manner and with ſo little Diſtinction, that They ceaſed, in ſome Senſe, to be *Honours*. To know the *Britiſh Nobility*, it was become almoſt neceſſary to have *Nomenclators* like Thoſe, who attended the Candidates at *Rome*, to tell them the Names of the *Citizens*. The Jeſt went ſo far, that an Advertiſement of * *An Art to help weak Memories to a competent Knowledge of the Names of the Nobility*, was paſted up at *Paul's*.

Thus King *James* began, and thus He continued his Reign. That *Experience*, which He ſaid, in his firſt Speech to his Parliament, would

* Wilſon.

teach Him *not to be ſo eaſily and lightly moved* [illegible] *granting*, taught Him nothing. What a Contraſt does this Conduct make with the Affability of Queen *Elizabeth*; with the Oeconomy and Re[illegible]ſerve ſhe uſed, in diſpoſing of her *Treaſure*, and i[illegible] conferring *Honours?*———But King *James* ſtoo[illegible] in Need of Helps, to the Want of which ſhe wa[illegible] ſuperior. *A good Government*, ſays one of our be[illegible] Writers, *makes a good People.* When a Prince ha[illegible] turned the *Spirit of a Nation in his Favour*, H[illegible] need not be ſolicitous about gaining *particula[illegible] Men*; but when He hath turned *this Spirit again[illegible] Him*, He muſt employ all Arts, even the lowe[illegible] to *detach particular Men from the Body of the Pe[illegible] ple*, and to make them act by Motives of *priva[illegible] Intereſt* againſt the *publick Senſe.* This is *Faction* and therefore, whenever a *Court* is induſtrious [illegible] ſeduce, to inviegle, to corrupt *particular Me[illegible]* We may ſecurely conclude, without waiting fo[illegible] any other Sign, that ſuch an Adminiſtratio[illegible] ſtands on a *factious*, not on a *national Bottom.*— But to return to King *James.*

Whilſt He neglected the *Affection* and ſough[illegible] the *Reverence* of the Publick, He loſt *one*, an[illegible] was diſappointed of the *other.* His *private* an[illegible] his *publick Character* both fell into Contemp[illegible] *Learning* was the Part, upon which He value[illegible] Himſelf. *This* He affected more than became [illegible] *King*, and broached, on every Occaſion, in ſuc[illegible] a Manner as would have miſbecome a *Schoolma[illegible]ſter.* His *Pedantry* was too much even for th[illegible] Age, in which He lived. It would be tedious [illegible] quote the Part He took in the Conference [illegible] *Hampton Court*; and in the theological Wrangl[illegible] between the *Gomariſts* and *Arminians*; or to go [illegible] bout to prove, by ſome Inſtances, what appear[illegible]

in all his Words and Actions; what is univerſally allowed; and what the *unkingly Volume* He left behind him teſtifies. ——— Let us only obſerve that the *Ridicule*, which aroſe from hence, and which fix'd on Him, was juſt; becauſe the Merit of a *chief Governor* is wiſely to ſuper-intend the *whole*, and not to ſhine in any *inferior Claſs*; becauſe *different*, and, in ſome Caſes perhaps, *oppoſite Talents*, both natural and acquired, are neceſſary to move, and to regulate the Movements of the *Machine of Government*; in ſhort, becauſe as a *good Adjutant* may make a *very bad General*; ſo a *great Reader*, and *Writer* too, may be a very *ignorant King*.

There were many other Circumſtances, which concurred to leſſen *this Prince* in the Eyes of his Subjects, and of all Mankind; as We ſhall have Occaſion to obſerve frequently in the Courſe of theſe Remarks.——In the mean Time, We ſhall obſerve here, that the *State* He affected, and the *pompous Titles* He was ſo fond of, ſerved to render his *Puſilanimity* (which, with his *Vanity*, made up the main of his Character) more conſpicuous, and his *Perſon* by Conſequence more contemptible.—The Hoſtilities between the *Engliſh* and *Spaniards* continued, when Queen *Elizabeth* died. This *great Queen*, not content to have done Herſelf and her Subjects Juſtice, on many ſignal Occaſions, put it likewiſe into their Power to do themſelves Juſtice, by granting *Letters of Repriſal* on the Subjects of *Spain*. King *James* was ſo fond of *Peace*, That is, ſo afraid of *War*, that without ſtaying to be ſolicited on this Head, or to be complimented on his Acceſſion to the Throne by the King of *Spain*, He *revoked theſe Letters* in a few Weeks after He came into *England*. He diſarmed

his Subjects, before He had provided for the *better Security*. He ſtopt them in the Courſe doing Themſelves *Juſtice*, before He was ſure obtaining Reparation for their *paſt Loſſes*. T Impreſſions, which ſuch a Proceeding muſt ma on the Minds of a *trading People*, are eaſily fe *He*, who had *revoked theſe Letters* in ſuch a Ma ner, was not likely to *grant them* on any oth Occaſion. What Protection therefore, and muc leſs what Encouragement to Trade, could be e pected from a *Prince*, who began his Reign ſacrificing This, the moſt valuable Intereſt his People, to a *foreign* and *hoſtile Nation*; to t mean Arts of *falſe Policy*, and even to his *Fears* ——Again; one of the firſt *Embaſſies*, whi King *James* ſent abroad, was That of the E of *Hertford* to *Bruſſels*. A *Dutch Man of W* meeting the Ship, which carried the *Ambaſſad* refuſed to *ſtrike* * ; and having offered this Affro to the *united Croſſes*, which had never been offe

* *N. B.* This Fact ſtands in Hiſtory, as it is he related; but having looked into Sir *William Monſo naval Tracts*, We find it differently told. He ſays n thing of *ſtriking*, or *not ſtriking* the Flag; but confe ſes that an *Affront* was offered by *two Dutch Men War*. He adds, that He ſent for the *Captains* Board his Ship; that He threatned to *right Himſe upon them*; but that He diſmiſſed them at the Intrea of my Lord *Hertford*, on their excuſing Themſelve and promiſing to puniſh the *Offenders*. How ſevere *theſe Offenders* were puniſhed may be collected fro hence. *One of theſe Captains*, ſays Sir *William Mo ſon, was He, who ſince that Time committed a foul Mu ther upon his Majeſty's Subjects in* Ireland, *that were*

ed to That of St. *George*, went off with Impunity. It is ſaid that the *Ambaſſador* hindered the *Captain* from aſſerting the Honour of the *Britiſh Flag*. But *two Things* are certain; *one*, that Queen *Elizabeth* would have ſeverely puniſhed *her Officer*, and have exacted ample Reparation from the *States General*; the *other*, that King *James* did neither. This *Commonwealth* had been raiſed by Queen *Elizabeth*, and was ſtill in want of the Support of *England*. The *Sovereignty of her State* had not been yet acknowledged by any of the Powers of *Europe*. How much the pacifick Temper of King *James* was capable of bearing had not yet become ſo apparent, as He made it in the Courſe of his Reign. From all which it is eaſy to collect, that if he had demanded *Satisfaction*, He muſt and would have received it. But the *good Prince*

der Protection.——If We had no other Proofs of the Indignities offered to our Nation by the *Dutch*, from the Time of the Acceſſion of King *James* the *firſt*, than the Memorials of *this Gentleman*, They would be ſufficient. He complains of theſe Indignities very much, and mentions ſeveral. In this very *Tract* He affirms, that the *Hollanders* took and burnt our Ships, and murdered our Men, for trading to the Ports of *Flanders*, whilſt They ſuffered their own Countrymen, even in our Sight, to trade thither. The Truth is, that our Nation was inſulted with Impunity, during this *pacifick Reign*, not only in *Europe* but in every other Part of the World; not only by the *Dutch*, but by other Nations; and that our Government fell from the higheſt Eſteem into the loweſt Contempt. If therefore the *Inſtance* We have quoted ſhould be diſputed, on the Repreſentation of this Fact by Sir *William Monſon*, an hundred others, and ſeveral of them more flagrant, might be ſoon produced.

was afraid, where no Fear was, and bore di honourably what He might have reſented ſafely nay, what He ought to have reſented in an Circumſtances, and at any Hazard. We are no to wonder if ſo poor a Conduct as This ſoo brought King *James* into Contempt, mingle with Indignation, amongſt a *People*, eagerly ben on *Commerce*, and in whom high Notions *Honour* and a *gallant Spirit* had been infuſed, b the Example of Queen *Elizabeth*, and encourage during the whole Courſe of a long Reign.

Theſe Things and ſeveral others of the ſam Kind, which I omit, might however have bee borne. The *Ridicule* might have appeared leſs the Eyes of Men accuſtomed to it. The *oth Faults* might have been excuſed, or ſoftened leaſt, by Hopes of *Amendment*. But there a *ſome Things* behind, which no *Excuſe* would all viate, nor any *Patience* endure. We ſhall no bring them forward, and ſhall ſpeak of them un der *three Heads*.———*The* Pretenſions *ſet up*, a *the* Attempts *made againſt the* Freedom *of this Co ſtitution*.———*The Management of* Parties.— *The Conduct of our national Intereſts* abroad, *again the Senſe of the Nation*.

LETTER XX.

A Fundamental Principle, on which Kin *James* affected to eſtabliſh his Authorit was That of an *hereditary Right to the Crow* This ſacred Right, according to the politic Creed, which He impoſed, was not to be co teſte

ſted, much leſs to be ſet aſide; and yet this ſacred Right was a meer Chimæra; contradicted by the general Tenor of Cuſtom, from the *Norman* Invaſion to his Time; by the declared Senſe of his immediate Predeceſſors; by many ſolemn Proceedings of Parliament; and by the expreſs Terms of Law.——*Two Families* (for the Race of *Plantagenet* was grafted on the *Norman* Race, and They may be reckoned properly as one) had furniſhed, indeed, all our Kings; but This conſtituted no *hereditary Right*. When a Prince of the Royal Family, but in a Degree remote from the Succeſſion, comes to the Crown, in Prejudice of the next Heir, *hereditary Right* is violated as really as it would be, if an abſolute Stranger to this Family ſucceeded. Such a Prince may have another, and We think a better Right; That, for Inſtance, which is derived from a Settlement of the Crown, made by the Authority of *Parliament*; but to ſay He hath an *hereditary Right*, is the groſſeſt Abuſe of Words imaginable. This We think ſo plain, that We ſhould be aſhamed to go about to prove it; and yet there are Men, in this Age of Paradoxes, either dull enough, or proſtitute enough, to aſſert *hereditary Right*, even in the Caſe above-mentioned.

Our Kings, of the *Norman* Race, were ſo far from ſucceeding as *next Heirs to one another*, and in a *regular Courſe of Deſcent*, that no Inſtance can be produced of the *next Heir's ſucceeding*, which is not preceded and followed by Inſtances of the *next Heir's being ſet aſide*.——Thus *Edward the firſt* ſucceeded his Father *Henry the third*; but his Father *Henry the third*, and his Grandfather *John*, had both been raiſed to the Throne, in plain Defiance of *hereditary Right*; the Right of *Arthur*, Nephew

phew to *John*, and the Right of *Arthur*'s Siſter Couſin-German to *Henry*.——*Edward the ſecond* ſucceeded his Father *Edward the firſt*; but *Edward the third* depoſed *Edward the ſecond*; the Parliament renounced all Allegiance to Him; and *Edward the third* held the Crown by a Parliamentary Title, as much as *William the third*.—If We go up higher than this Æra, or deſcend lower, We ſhall find the Examples uniform. Examples, ſufficient to countenance this Pretenſion of *hereditary Right* to the Crown of *England*, are to be found no where.—— But We haſten to King *James*; who raiſed, or, if you pleaſe, revived this Pretenſion, ſo needleſly for Himſelf, and ſo very unprofitably for his Poſterity.

The *Britiſh* Race began in *Henry the ſeventh*, and from *Him* alone King *James* derived the Right, which He aſſerted in ſuch pompous Terms, that *undoubted Right* to the Throne, as He called it in his firſt Speech to Parliament, which *God Birthright and lineal Deſcent had, in Fulneſs of Time, provided* for Him. Now ſurely, if ever any Prince came to the Crown without the leaſt Colour of *hereditary Right*, it was *Henry the ſeventh*. He had no Pretence to it, even as Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. His Wife might have ſome, as Heir of the Houſe of *York*; though her *hereditary Title* was not free from Objections, which the Character of *Edward the fourth* rendered probable: but the Title of his *Wife* had no Regard paid to it either by *Him*, or the *Parliament*, in making the new Settlement. He gained the Crown by the good Will of the *People*. He kept it by the Confirmation of *Parliament*, and by his *own Ability*. The national Union of the *two Roſes* was a much better Expedient for *Quiet* than Foundation

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Right. It took Place in *Henry the eighth*; it was continued in his Succeſſors; and this Nation was willing it ſhould continue in King *James* and his Family. But neither *Henry the eighth*, nor his Son *Edward the ſixth*, who might have done ſo with much better Grace, laid the ſame Streſs on *hereditary Right* as King *James* did. *One* of them had Recourſe to *Parliament* on every Occaſion, where the Succeſſion to the Crown was concerned; and the *other* made no Scruple of giving the Crown by *Will* to his *Couſin*, in Prejudice of his *Siſter's Right*. This *Right* however, ſuch as it was, prevailed; but the Authority of *Parliament* was called in Aid by *Mary*, to remove the Objection of *Illegitimacy*, which lay againſt it. *Elizabeth* had ſo little Concern about *hereditary Right*, that ſhe neither held, nor deſired to hold her Crown by any other Tenure than the Statute of the 35th of her *Father*'s Reign. In the 13th of her own Reign, ſhe declared it by Law *High Treaſon*, during her Life, and a *Præmunire*, after her Deceaſe, to deny the *Power of Parliament, in limiting and binding the Deſcent and Inheritance of the Crown, or the Claims to it*; and whatever private Motives there were for putting to Death *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, her claiming a *Right*, in Oppoſition to an *Act of Parliament*, was the Foundation of the publick Proceedings againſt Her.

Such Examples, as We have quoted, ought to have ſome Weight with King *James*. A Prince, who had worn the Crown of *Scotland*, under ſo many Reſtraints, and in ſo great Penury, might have contented Himſelf, one would think, to hold That of *England*, whoſe Penſioner he had been, by the ſame Tenure, and to eſtabliſh his Authority on the ſame Principles, as had contented the

the beſt and greateſt of his *Predeceſſors*; but hi
Deſigns were as bad as Thoſe of the very wor
Princes, who went before him.

Happily for *Great Britain*, He wanted the Ca
pacity of *Henry the ſeventh*; the Reſolution o
Henry the eighth; and the favourable Opportuni
ties, which They had the Luck to find, or th
Art to contrive, of raiſing *Prerogative*, acquirin
Wealth, and encroaching on *Liberty*.

We obſerved, in diſcourſing on the Reign o
Henry the ſeventh, that He had laid the Founda
tions of an exorbitant Power, before the Natio
was well aware of what He intended.———Kin
James, on the contrary, ſhewed his whole Gam
from the firſt. Beſides the Pleaſure, which hi
Vanity found in boaſting of an *abſolute*, *indepen
dent Right to the Crown*, *inherent in Himſelf*, H
imagined that the Tranſition would be eaſy, an
ſo indeed it proved amongſt many, from *This* t
ſome *other uſeful Apothegms*. He hoped to get
and he did get, an *Act of Recognition of his Righ
of Succeſſion*; for We cannot perſuade ourſelves
with *Rapin*, that He was indifferent on this Point
and though *this Act*, as well as the *Oath of Supre
macy*, which had been eſtabliſhed long before, an
That of *Allegiance*, which was eſtabliſhed ſoon af
ter, is in itſelf, as it hath proved in Effect, but
feeble Prop to ſupport the Pretence of *hereditar
Right*; yet King *James* certainly looked on it a
an Admiſſion of his Claim, and meant a real Ad
vantage, where the *Parliament* very probabl
meant nothing more than a Compliment.—*Th
Prince* brought with Him the true Spirit of
Miſſionary; and, by preaching a *new Doctrine*, en
deavoured to eſtabliſh a *new Power*. From th
Notion of *independent Right*, was deduced the No
tion

tion of *independent Authority*; a *Right* ſuperior to *Law*; an *Authority* unbounded by it; a *Right*, which could not be proved; an *Authority*, which might not be defined.——The Inference from both Theſe was obvious. This *independent King* muſt be accountable to *God alone*. He could not be accountable to *Man*.

If this excellent Syſtem of *Policy* could have been generally impoſed, his ſacred Majeſty might have battened, with great Eaſe and Delight, in the full Sunſhine of *arbitrary Power*; and that He ſhould ſucceed in impoſing it, his *own Vanity* and the ſervile Flattery of his *Miniſters* had made him to expect. True it is, that the Language he held was not ſo plain, nor the Efforts he made ſo direct and violent, in the Beginning of his Reign, as They grew ſoon afterwards; but yet, if We conſider the Multitude of his *Proclamations*; the Nature of ſome; the Stile of all; the Obedience He exacted to them; the *Acts of Power*, which He exerciſed; Thoſe, which He eſſayed; and many other Particulars of his Conduct, which for Brevity We omit; We muſt of Courſe conclude that He thought himſelf ſure, at that Time, of laying the Foundations, ſince He prepared to erect ſo great a Superſtructure. He was deceived. Inſtead of making his Impoſitions paſs on the People, He only awakened their Jealouſy. He had, in his own Age, and He hath, in ours, the Demerit of beginning a Struggle between *Prerogative* and *Privilege*; and of eſtabliſhing a Sort of Warfare between the *Prince* and the *People*. But the *Spirit of Liberty* baffled all his Deſigns. The *Spirit of Liberty* was not enervated by *Luxury* in thoſe Days. It was not only alive, but vigorous and active. It roſe in the Nation, as That of *Faction* roſe at Court.

Court. The *ſame Principle*, which compli with Queen *Elizabeth*, reſiſted King *James*. Th *Oppoſition* began as ſoon as the *Invaſion*; an *Tyranny* was, at leaſt, nipt in the Bud.

King *James* made one Attempt, indeed, in th Beginning of his Reign, which bid fairer for Suc ceſs than any of thoſe, which He made afterwards and which, if it had ſucceeded, would have don the great Work of his Reign by Means more ſi lent and more dangerous; more ſoft in Appea rance, and more deadly in Effect. We mean th Attempt He made on the Privileges of the *Hou of Commons*, in the Caſe of *Elections*. In the *Procla mation*, for calling his *firſt Parliament*, He a ſumed a new and unjuſtifiable Prerogative, by h Manner of preſcribing to the *Electors* and to th *Elected*; and by ſubjecting both to ſevere Pena ties, if they failed, not only againſt the *Laws an Statutes*, but againſt the *Purport, Effect and tru Meaning of his Proclamation*. In the Courſe of th Seſſion, He endeavoured to put *this Prerogative* i Execution, by inſiſting, *firſt*, that the *Common* ſhould confer with the *Lords*; and when Th was refuſed, that They ſhould confer with th *Judges*, on the Merits of an *Election* and *Retur* for the County of *Buckingham*, which They ha already heard and decided. If the *King* had pre vailed in this Attempt of *garbling the Houſe of Com mons*, He would have prevailed very probably i That, which he made ſome Time afterwards, o *impriſoning and puniſhing the Members of it*. Th He might have intimidated Thoſe, by *one Prero gative*, whom He could not exclude by the *other* Such an *Influence* as muſt have reſulted from hence joined to That, which the *executive Power* give unavoidably to every King, would ſoon have ren dered

dered the *House of Commons* as dependent upon him, as the *House of Lords*, at that Time, appeared to be; for if *Money gets Money*, (which will not, we ſuppoſe, be denied in this *ſtockjobbing Age*) it is no leſs true, and perhaps no leſs viſible, that *Influence begets Influence*. Now We apprehend that, in this Caſe, the Barrier of *Liberty* had been totally deſtroyed, and that King *James* would have virtually been in Poſſeſſion of *arbitrary Power*; for whether the *Will of the Prince becomes a Law*, by Force of *Prerogative*, and independently of *Parliament*; or whether it is made ſo, upon every Occaſion, by the Concurrence of *Parliament*, *arbitrary Power* is alike eſtabliſhed. The only Difference lies here. Every Degree of *this Power*, which is obtained *without Parliament*, is obtained againſt the *Forms*, as well as againſt the *Spirit* of the Conſtitution; and muſt therefore be obtained with Difficulty, and poſſeſſed with Danger. Whereas in the other Method of obtaining and exerciſing *this Power*, by and with *Parliament*, if it can be obtained at all, the Progreſs is eaſy and ſhort; and the Poſſeſſion of it is ſo far from being dangerous, that *Liberty* is diſarmed, as well as oppreſſed, by *this Method*; that Part of the Conſtitution, which was inſtituted to oppoſe the Encroachments of the *Crown*, the Male-Adminiſtration of *Men in Power*, and every *other Grievance*, being influenced to abet *theſe Encroachments*, to ſupport *this Male-Adminiſtration*, and even to concur in impoſing the *Grievances*.——— National Concurrence can be acquired only by a *good Prince*, and for *good Purpoſes*; becauſe *publick Good* alone can be a national Motive. But King *James* was not ignorant that *private Good* may be rendered a ſuperior Motive to *particular Men*,

and

and that is morally poſſible to make even *Parli*
ments ſubſervient to the worſt Purpoſes of a Cou
Richard the ſecond, by influencing the *Elections*, a
Queen *Mary*, by corrupting the *Members*, h
created ſuch a *Dependence of the Parliament on t*
Court, that the *firſt* had well nigh eſtabliſhed,
Spight of all other Oppoſition, his abſolute Powe
and that the *latter* was able to ſubvert what h
Father and her *Brother* had done; to govern wi
the utmoſt Cruelty; and to ſacrifice the Intere
of the *Nation* to Thoſe of an *Huſband*, whom ſ
took againſt the general Inclination of her Peop
———If therefore King *James* could have creat
the *ſame Dependence*, He might have promi
himſelf the ſame Succeſs. He might have g
verned in great Quiet and Safety, with the Co
currence of Parliament, tyrannically at hom
and ignominiouſly abroad. He might have be
gared the Nation, as he beggared himſelf, a
have given an abſolute Dominion over both
one inſolent and *incapable Miniſter*. But this Co
currence could not be obtained; becauſe the *I*
pendence of Parliaments upon the King could not
created. By aſſerting their *Privileges*, They p
vented any direct and open Influence of the Crow
Had King *James* been *rich*; (and it was in
Power to have been ſo) had *Luxury* and the C
ſpring of *Luxury*, *Corruption*, both which he int
duced, prevailed in the Body of the *People*, an
direct and *private Influence* might have been eſ
bliſhed; this Nation might have been enſlaved
the leaſt-beloved and moſt-deſpiſed of all her Kin
But the King continued poor, and the Nat
honeſt; this *indirect* and *private Influence* was
ther not attempted, or attempted without Effe
and We are perſuaded that no *Advocate* for it co
hav

ave been found, even in this Reign, or the next. There were Men wicked enough to aſcribe ſuch Powers to the *King*, as would have deſtroyed effectually the Powers of Parliament; but there was no Man abſurd, as well as wicked enough, to allow thoſe Powers, which are given to Parliament by the Conſtitution, and to argue for an *Expedient*, which muſt of Courſe render them ineffectual, or pervert them to Purpoſes oppoſite to Thoſe, for which They were inſtituted. Thus *Liberty* was preſerved, by preſerving the *Independency of Parliaments*. The Proceedings of the *Commons*, in the whole Courſe of the Affair We have mentioned, were extremely moderate. They went farther, not only in Expreſſions and outward Demonſtrations of Reſpect and Submiſſion, but in real Compliances, than could have been expected, or that was perhaps ſtrictly right; and when an Expedient was fallen upon to draw the *King*, with ſome Reputation, out of the Conteſt, They gave Way to it, although by admitting a *Writ for the Election of a Member*, in the Room of one, whoſe Election They had allowed, They ſuffered a Precedent to be eſtabliſhed, which might be turned againſt them. But the *Spirit of Liberty*, though eaſily alarmed, is ſlow to reſent even great Provocations, and to act with Violence, even againſt the worſt Princes. Repeated Injuries, imminent and extreme Danger can alone bring Things to ſuch a Paſs; and *no King* of this Nation was ever diſtreſſed by his *People*, without receiving frequent Warnings, as well as accumulating inſupportable Grievances. King *James* felt ſome part of this Diſtreſs in Proceſs of Time. He deſerved it perhaps already. The *Commons* however contented Themſelves, in an Addreſs to Him, to aſſert

aſſert their *Privileges*, and to complain of this I
vaſion of them, amongſt *other Grievances*.——
The Proceedings of Parliament were carried o
in ſubſequent Seſſions, with the ſame Moderati
and Temper. In That, which followed the Di
covery of the *Gunpowder Treaſon*, the *Oath of A
legiance* was impoſed; and this Pledge of Fidelit
for the future, was the ſole Hardſhip, (for ſu
the Court of *Rome* and a great Number of th
Communion eſteemed it) which the *Roman-C
tholick Party* drew on Themſelves by ſo execrab
an Attempt. The *Parliament* complied, on th
Occaſion, with the *King*, probably againſt the
own Sentiments; ſince nothing could be more di
ferent than *his Notions* and *theirs*, concerning t
Conduct to be held with *Papiſts*, and even co
cerning *Popery* itſelf; and ſince the Favour
ſhewed, not to ſay the Court he made, to *t
Party*, had already created great Uneaſineſs, a
began to be a moſt unpopular Part of his Gover
ment.——He had no *War* on his Hands, a
his Revenues were at leaſt as conſiderable as Th
of the late Queen. The *Commons* however ga
him one of the greateſt Supplies, which had e
been given in Parliament; and upon this Occ
ſion it may not be improper to obſerve, in Co
firmation of what We have advanced already, t
the natural Bent of the *People*, to live well wi
their *Kings*, is ſo ſtrong, that *Parliaments*, und
no other Influence than This, will neglect nothi
to gain them; nay, that a Prince like Ki
James, diſliked, diſtruſted, deſpiſed, may prev
on his *Parliament*, for a Time, and till all Ho
of gaining Him are loſt, to do as well as bear
his Favour, what would not be attempted i
bet

better Reign, nor ſucceed perhaps, if it was attempted.

His Deſign of uniting the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* failed. It was too great an Undertaking for ſo bad a Workman. We muſt think that the general Arguments againſt it were grounded on Prejudice; on falſe and narrow Notions. But there were other Reaſons, drawn from the Jealouſies of that Time, and from the Conduct of the *King*, who had beforehand declared all the *Poſt nati*, or Perſons born ſince his Acceſſion to the *Engliſh* Throne, naturalized in the two Kingdoms; and Theſe were, without Doubt, the true Reaſons, which prevailed againſt the *Union*.——The next Time the Parliament aſſembled, to proceed on Buſineſs, was in the Year 1610, and by that Time the general Diſcontent of the Nation began to ſhew itſelf in loud and univerſal Murmurs. Some *Monopolies*, the rigid and impolitick Proceedings of the *High-Commiſſion Court* and *Star-Chamber*, and many other Cauſes combined to raiſe them. But no particular Grievance either had, or deſerved to have, ſo great an Effect as the continual Endeavours, which were uſed to eſtabliſh Practices and Principles, abſolutely deſtructive of the general Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government.——Such was the Attempt made by *Bancroft*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, when he preſented the *twenty five Articles*, commonly called *Articuli Cleri*, and petitioned the King to grant Prohibitions upon them.——Such again were the Books, publiſhed by *Cowel* and *Blackwood*, aſſerting that the *King* is neither bound by the *Laws*, nor by his *Coronation-Oath*; that He hath a Right to make *Laws* and impoſe *Taxes*, without the Conſent of *Parliament*; and that

that the Nation was reduced to a State of Slave
by the *Norman* Conqueſt. ———Such, to conclu
this Head, were the many *Acts*, which the K
himſelf had done, and the many *Declaratio*
which He had made; nay, ſuch was the *Declar*
tion he made in this very Parliament, when
affirmed that altho', *all Kings, who are not Tyra*
or perjured, will bound Themſelves within the Lim
of their Laws; yet as it is Blaſphemy to diſpute w
God *may do, ſo it is Sedition in Subjects to diſp*
what a King *may do, in the Heighth of his Pow*
———Theſe Doctrines were new, ungrate
and ſhocking to *Engliſh* Ears; yet the *Parliam*
kept in Temper, and bore ſuch Language, fr
this *fearful, bullying Prince*, as the fierceſt of
Predeceſſors, ſince *Richard the ſecond*, had ne
preſumed to hold. They took no Notice of *B*
croft, nor purſued any farther Meaſures agai
Cowel and *Blackwood*, after theſe *Libels* had b
called in by Proclamation, and the reading
them had been forbid. Nay, there was a *Sub*
granted, in this very Seſſion, with as little P
tence as there had been for granting the *form*
All this Temper, Submiſſion and Generoſity
the *Parliament* were loſt on the *King*. They wo
not connive at *Grievances*, nor ſacrifice *Liber*
and Thoſe were the only Terms, upon which
Union with Him was to be obtained.——Fr
the Year 1610 to 1614, He held no *Parliame*
and it is evident that He would never have ca
another, if his *Miniſters* could have ſupplied
Profuſion by all the illegal and oppreſſive Mea
which they uſed to raiſe *Money* on the People,
which We forbear to enumerate, becauſe the m
partial Writers, who have endeavoured to exc
them, have not preſumed to deny them.—Even

der this Neceſſity, he did not take the Reſolution of calling a new Parliament, till He was prevailed on by his Favourite, *Somerſet*, who had formed a Scheme for influencing the *Elections*, and, at the Head of ſeveral other *Undertakers*, flattered *Himſelf* and his *Maſter*, that He could get ſuch Members choſen *, *as ſhould comply ſolely to the* King's *Deſires*. But this Project proved abortive. *The* Engliſh *Freedom cannot be loſt*, (ſays *Wilſon*; and may his Saying prove true to all future Generations!) *by a few baſe and tame Spirits, that would unmake Themſelves and their Poſterity, to aggrandize* ONE MAN. It happened to King *James*, as it happened to his Son. Diſgrace at *Court* proved a Recommendation in the *Country*; and the Faces, which appeared in this new Parliament, made the Countenance of the *Court* to droop.

From this Time began that Conduct, on the Part of the *Court*, and on the Part of the *Parliament*, which continued to be held, with very fatal Uniformity, till it ended in a *civil War*. That the *People* had Reaſon to be jealous of the Deſigns of the *Court*, hath appeared and will appear ſtill more flagrantly in the Sequel; but that the *Court* had, at this Time, nay even in the Month of *May* 1640, when King *Charles* diſſolved the laſt Parliament He had it in his Power to diſſolve, any Reaſon to be jealous of the *Parliament*, or the *People*, We deny; and are able to juſtify our Denial by *Fact* and *Authority*; even the Authority of my Lord *Clarendon*.——— But the *Father* and the *Son*, and eſpecially the *former*, having no End in calling their *Parliaments* but to get *Money* from their

* Wilſon.

their *People*, and to evade, rather than refuſe, th
Redreſs of *Grievances*; the Art of the *Court* wa
conſtantly employed, under Pretence of the Ur
gency of Affairs, and in the Parliament of 161
without any Pretence at all, to get the *Subſidi*
firſt diſpatched. The *Commons*, on the other Sid
who knew for what they were called together
and who expected that little Time would be a
lowed them to enquire into *Male-Adminiſtrati*
and to repreſent *Grievances*, when they had on
given the *Money*, inſiſted for the moſt Part (fe
(for there happened Occaſions, in which They di
not inſiſt) that the Conſideration of *Grievanc*
ſhould precede, or at leaſt go an equal Pace wi
That of the *Supply*. This was the Rock, on whi
ſo many *Parliaments* ſplit. This alone occaſion
the Diſſolution of That We are ſpeaking of, an
made King *James* reſolve, though he could not ſu
port his Reſolution to the End of his Reign, to g
vern by his *Prerogative* alone, and without the Aſſi
ance of his *Parliament*; That is, to avow *abſolu*
Power.

LETTER XXI.

IN our laſt Diſcourſe, concerning the Pretenſio
ſet up, and the Attempts made by King *Jam*
againſt the Freedom of the *Engliſh* Conſtitutio
We carried theſe Remarks down to the Year 161
We choſe to ſtop there, becauſe it ſeems to be t
very diametrical Point of Oppoſition, or a Poi
very near to That, between the Government
this Prince and the Government of Queen *Elizabe*
which We have ſo largely inſiſted upon.——T
Diſtruſt between *Him* and his *People* was now i
tirely

tirely formed. His *offenſive* and their *defenſive* Pretenſions were now fully explained. An Union of Affection between *Him* and his *People*, which the *latter* ſtill deſired, and had long courted, was now grown deſperate. An Union, unworthy of a free People, a factious Union between the *Parliament* and the *Court*, founded in the Dependence and Submiſſion of the *former*, and ſo much affected by the *latter*, was after many Trials become evidently impracticable. The King, as He had managed Affairs, could never govern *with Parliament*, nor *without it*; and thoſe Powers, which are deſigned to be mutual Helps, were turned to be mutual Clogs on one another; not by any Deviation on the Side of the *People*, or of their *Repreſentatives*, from the true Line of Government; but by a manifeſt and almoſt continual Deviation from it, on the Side of the *Crown*.

Thus were thoſe great Diſorders in Government, and that national Confuſion raiſed, which in a few Years more deſtroyed the whole Conſtitution. In ſhort, that melancholy Scene, which had been preparing ever ſince the Acceſſion of King *James*, was opened about this Time, and continued open with few Variations, every one of which was for the worſe, till that Tragedy began, wherein the nobleſt as well as the meaneſt Blood in the Nation was ſhed ſo profuſely; and with the beginning of which We purpoſe to conclude *theſe Remarks*.

We have charged the Whole, and We think very juſtly, to the Account of King *James*; who attempted to govern *England* by foreign, not by *Engliſh* Maxims; nay, by ſuch as He was unable to govern his own Country. Sure We are, that no Part of it can be laid to the Conſtitution, or

People of *England*. The Conſtitution was th
ſame in his Time as in the Time of Queen *Eliza*
beth; and the People claimed, under *Him*, no oth
Privileges, nor Powers, than They had enjoy
under *Her*. It was his Fault, not theirs, if
treading in the ſame Path, which had kept the
united with *Her*, They were divided from *Hi*
Theſe are Points, on which We think it prop
to inſiſt a little more in this Place, in order to c
a greater Light on the Particulars, which follo
and to avoid any prolix Repetitions, when W
come to wind up the whole.

King *James* had opened the Parliament, whi
met in 1614, by aſking Money for the Porti
and other Expences of his Daughter's Marriage
the *Elector Palatine*, and promiſed the *Comm*
Leave and Leiſure to enquire into *Grievances*, wh
They had complied with this Demand;
Diſtruſt, the Bane of all Harmony, prevailed
mongſt *Them*; as it is plain, even from this con
tional Promiſe, that it prevailed with *Him*,
They reſolved to begin the Work of the Seſſion
a Repreſentation of *Grievances*.

A principal Article in this Roll was the Gro
of *Popery*, encouraged no doubt by ſeveral Pa
ges in the Conduct of King *James*, and parti
larly by two; his employing not only ſuſpec
but known *Roman-Catholicks* in Offices of
higheſt Truſt and Conſequence; and his avo
Deſign of marrying his Son to ſome Princeſs
that Religion. Shall We ſay, in the Stile of K
James, that it was *Preſumption in the Commons*
meddle in ſuch *deep Matters of State?* Shall
not rather think it was Preſumption in the *Pr*
to determine a Matter, of this Importance to
pub

publick Welfare, to the preſent and to future Generations, without the Advice, nay againſt the Opinion of the *great Council of the Nation?* Shall We not rather applaud the Wiſdom and Foreſight, as well as the Virtue of thoſe Men, who diſcovered the Fruit in the Seed; whoſe Minds foreboded all the miſchievous Conſequences of ſuch an Alliance, and who did their utmoſt to prevent the true, original Cauſe of our greateſt Misfortunes?

Under another Head of *Grievances*, complained of at this Time, were the *Monopolies*, and many illegal Exactions of Money from the People. The *Parliament* had the more Reaſon to loſe no Time, and to ſpare no Endeavours in putting a Stop to theſe Encroachments on *Liberty*, becauſe the longer They laſted, the more familiar They grew. The *Court* improved in the Practice of them. The *People*, who ſubmitted to them by Force, might have been brought to ſubmit to them by Cuſtom, and the *King* might become able in Time to ſupply his Wants *without the Aſſiſtance of Parliament*; a Caſe almoſt as deſperate as That of his being able to ſupply them when, in what Manner, and in what Proportions He thought fit, *by the Aſſiſtance of Parliament.* We ſay *almoſt as deſperate*, on the Principles touched in our laſt Letter; for, in the firſt Place, if King *James* could have ſupplied his Wants *without Parliaments*, He would certainly have called none, and the Condition of this Nation had been worſe than That of *Spain*, of *France*, and of other Nations, whoſe Examples have been, abſurdly enough, quoted to juſtify theſe arbitrary Methods of *raiſing Money*, and to induce Mankind to ſubmit to them. In *France*, for Inſtance, the People muſt ſuffer; but they may complain. Their Mouths are open; That is, their *Parliaments* may

repreſent; and even remonſtrate; nay, they hav
gone ſo far, as to refuſe with Succeſs to regiſter an
give the neceſſary Forms of a Law to an Edict o
the *Prince*, which they judged oppreſſive to th
People. But if King *James* had prevailed, H
would have governed without even theſe Shadow
of a *Parliament*. The *People* muſt have ſuffere
and could not have complained. Their ſo
Mouth, the Mouth of *Parliament*, would hav
been ſtopped, and Redreſs of *Grievances* being n
longer attainable by the Applications of their r
preſentative Body, which would have no long
exiſted, they muſt have ſubmitted tamely an
ſilently, or have ſought a Remedy in their *collecti*
Body, which can only act by Reſiſtance, and Forc
This Situation would have been bad enough, G
knows; yet not ſo bad as the other; for, in t
ſecond Place, if the *Parliament* had been made
pendent on the Crown, (no Matter by what Kind
Influence; whether by the Diſtribution of H
nours, the Tranſlation of *Biſhops*, the corrupti
the *Electors* and the *Elected*, or the other Metho
King *James* took) the Mouth of the People h
not been ſtopped indeed; but it had been form
to ſpeak another Language than That of t
Heart.———The *People* muſt have ſuffered, a
the *Parliament* muſt have rejoiced.——If *They* h
felt an increaſing Load of Debt, the *Parliam*
muſt have teſtified great Satisfaction at the Dim
nution of it.——If *They* had felt the Decay
Trade, and the Growth of national Poverty,
Parliament muſt have boaſted of the Wealth
flouriſhing State of the Kingdom.———If T
had ſeen the Intereſt and Honour of the Nati
as they ſaw it too often, neglected or ſacrifi
the *Parliament* muſt have exulted in the Trium

of both.——In ſhort, ſuch a *depending Parliament* muſt not only have connived at the Grievances of their Country, but have ſanctified Them too. They muſt not only have borne the Rod, but have kiſſed it too; not only the Rod of their *Prince*, but the Rod of ſome *upſtart Miniſter*, who owed his Elevation to his Diſhonour, and his Favour to his Shame.——But as the Integrity of *Parliament* ſecured the Nation from any Danger of *this Kind*; ſo the Neceſſities of the *King* were the great Security againſt any Danger of the *other*.———Was the *Parliament* therefore to blame, who oppoſed ſtrenuouſly every Innovation ſet on Foot, to leſſen this Security?

A *third Grievance*, which the *Parliament* deſired to have redreſſed, was that incredible Waſte, which King *James* made of the *Revenues of the Crown*. Theſe Revenues were, at that Time, ſo much more than ſufficient for all the ordinary Occaſions of the Government, that Queen *Elizabeth*, who had ſo many extraordinary Occaſions of Expence, who paid ſo many old Debts, without contracting new, and atchieved ſuch glorious Enterprizes abroad, as well as at home, did not receive in Grants from her People above * *four Millions* in more than *forty Years*.——If King *James*, who had no extraordinary Occaſions of Expence, who paid no Debts, who atchieved no glorious Enter-

* We do not want to be told that the Value of *Money* was very different at that Time from what it is now; but though We admit of the higheſt Calculations, this Sum will appear ſurprizingly ſmall for ſo many Years, when compared with the Profuſion and Extravagance of ſome latter Reigns.

prizes any where, had neither aſked Money, no raiſed it without aſking, the ſquandering his Revenue had not probably come under Debate in *Parliament*; but, ſince He expected that the *Peopl* ſhould provide for his Debts, and ſupply his Neceſſities, it was juſt that the *Repreſentatives of the Peopl* ſhould examine how They were contracted. Th immenſe Eſtates, which were made in theſe Day at *Court*, the known Corruption not only of *infe rior Agents*, but of *principal Miniſters*, and even o *Thoſe*, who were at the Head of the *Treaſury* made ſuch an Examination the more neceſſary and provoked and excited the more to it. Th Houſe of *Commons* would have thought that The had betrayed their Truſt, if They had neglected ſ important a Part of it. By the Proceedings, a well as Declarations of the *Parliaments*, in thei Times, it is plain, that they thought they had n an arbitrary, but only a conditional Power, ov the *Purſe* of the Nation, though the Strings of were in their Hands; that They were to tax th *People* in no greater Proportion than was ſtrict neceſſary to ſupport the Honour and Intereſt the Nation, and the Dignity of the Crown; tha They could make no Judgment, concerning th Proportion, if They had not a full Communica tion of the Nature of the *Service*, for which extra ordinary Aids were demanded; and if They d not examine, before They granted theſe Aids, ho the ordinary Revenues, and any precedent, extra ordinary Grants had been applied. Such Maxim as Theſe will not be condemned, we preſum They have been always profeſſed, and frequent purſued, from the Time We ſpeak of, down to th Age, in which We live. Since the Reign of Kin *William the third*, our Princes have indeed ſtoo

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on a different Foot. They have had a *diſtinct Revenue* aſſigned to Them for their particular Uſe. The *annual Expences*, and the *Debts of the Nation*, have been ſeparately provided for by Parliament; and yet not only the Management and Application of theſe *annual Grants*, but alſo the immenſe Property of the *Creditors of the Publick*, have been left to the *Crown*, as the Management and Application of *thoſe Revenues* were, which belonged properly to the *Crown*, and by Deficiencies, on which the *Crown*, not the *Nation*, was immediately affected. It is no Wonder therefore if our *Parliaments* have thought Themſelves obliged, ſince this great Alteration, ſometimes by *Committees*, and ſometimes by *extraordinary Commiſſions*, to inſpect more narrowly into Revenues, which are ſtill managed by the Officers of the *Crown*, though They make no longer any Part of the Eſtate of the *Crown*; and We perſuade ourſelves that no honeſt Man would be ſorry, if the Wiſdom of our *preſent Repreſentatives* ſhould think fit to make any Inquiſitions of the ſame Nature; but even before this Alteration, before the Settlement of a *civil Liſt*, and when our Princes ſtood on the ſame Foot as King *James the firſt*, with Reſpect to their private and publick Revenue, the Maxims We ſpeak of were purſued on many Occaſions, and always with the univerſal Applauſe of the *People*. In the Reign of King *Charles the ſecond*, for Inſtance, our *Whig-Patriots* endeavoured not only to detect and puniſh *Frauds* and *Abuſes*, by Enquiries into the Management of the publick Money, but to prevent them likewiſe, by appropriating what they gave to the Uſes, for which it was given; and thus much We think may ſuffice, to clear the Conduct of the

Parliament of 1614 from any Imputations on this Head.

Let us mention, in this Place, one Grievance more, which We have touched upon in another. A *former Parliament* had taken ſome Notice of it; and *this Parliament* would probably have taken more, if the *King* had allowed Them Time. The Doctrines, which eſtabliſhed the unbounded and ineffable Prerogative of the *King*; which reduced the Privileges of *Parliament* to be no longer *an ancient and undoubted Right and Inheritance*, but derived them from the *Permiſſion* and *Toleration of the Crown*, and declared them liable to be *retrenched* at the Will of the Prince; and which by neceſſary Conſequences changed at once the Nature of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, from That of a *free* to That of an *arbitrary Government*; all theſe Doctrines We ſay, or the Principles, on which They were eſtabliſhed, had been already publickly and frequently aſſerted by King *James*. They were the Language of the *Court*; and a *Party* had been formed in the Nation, who made Profeſſion of them. They were maintained in Converſation. They were pleaded for in *Print*; and they became ſoon afterwards the Diſgrace and Prophanation of the *Pulpit*.

We have ſometimes compared, in our Thoughts, theſe Uſurpations of King *James* over the Privileges of his *People*, to Thoſe of the *Popes*, which gave that Prince ſo much Offence, over the Rights of the *Emperors*, and indeed over the civil Rights of Mankind. *Charlemagne* had made theſe Prieſts Princes. They continued for about two hundred and ſixty Years, to ſubmit, in the main, to thoſe Rules, which the *imperial Conſtitutions* and *eccleſiaſtical Cuſtoms* had eſtabliſhed; after which They ſtarted

ſtarted, at once, out of theſe Bounds. They would be *limited Pontiffs*, no longer, but *arbitrary high Prieſts*, like the *Dairo* of *Japan*, ſomething more than human, and *civil* as well as *eccleſiaſtical Tyrants*. They ſcorned to go to *Tyranny* by Degrees, but carried their Uſurpations at one Leap to the utmoſt Pitch of Extravagance. *Alexander the ſecond* denied the Right of the *Emperors* to chuſe, or to confirm the Election of a *Pope*. His *Succeſſor* took the Inveſtitures from them. *Henry the fourth* aſſerted the *imperial Rights*, in Oppoſition to this Invaſion; but *Gregory the ſeventh* aſſerted, in Oppoſition to *Him*, that *Rome* was the Capital of the World; that the *Pope* was independent of all Powers on Earth; that *Kings* and *Emperors* were liable to be depoſed by the Plenitude of his Authority. The *Pope* was believed by many, on his Word; and there were more, who found their private Account in ſeeming to believe Him. *Factions* were raiſed to maintain theſe Principles. They were conſecrated by the *Church*. They prevailed in thoſe Days. More than *five Centuries* were not ſufficient to aboliſh the *Practice*, and more than *ſix* have not been ſufficient to extirpate the *Principle*. True it is, that theſe *Popes* had ſeveral Advantages, which King *James* had not; and, amongſt others, the Minority of *Henry the fourth*, at the Time when They began this monſtrous Uſurpation; whereas when King *James* ſet up his Pretenſions, and talked, and writ of *Prerogative*, in Terms as ridiculous and full of as much Bombaſt as Thoſe, which the Briefs and other publick Acts of *Hildebrand* contained, the *Commons* of *England* were grown up to a full Maturity of Property and Power. Shall We condemn them for endeavouring to preſerve the *Principles of Li-*

berty, that they might preſerve the *Spirit* of it, and by preſerving the *Spirit*, deſerve and ſecure the Continuance of ſo great a Bleſſing? Should an *Engliſh Parliament* have ſate quiet and ſilent, in humble Dependence on the *Prince*, whilſt Slavery in Speculation, as well as Practice, was making ſuch large Advances; whilſt the Laws of the Land, the Laws of Nature, and Thoſe of God Himſelf, were perverted to impoſe a Yoke of baſe and ſervile Prejudices on the Underſtandings and Conſciences of Mankind? We think not. Sure We are that our *Parliaments* have been always watchful to cenſure and explode, in Time, ſuch Doctrines as might, even by Induction and Conſequence, weaken the Foundation of *Liberty*. The Inſtances of this Kind are ſo well known, and ſome of them ſo recent, that We need not quote them. But, in order to juſtify ſtill farther the Senſe and Conduct of our Forefathers, let us appeal even to the preſent Senſe of Mankind. We all know that there are *mercenary* and *abandoned Wretches* amongſt us, who have dared to plead for a *Dependence of the Parliament on the Crown*; nor for that *Dependence of the ſeveral Parts of the Government on one another*, which our Conſtitution hath formed, and on the Preſervation of which the Freedom of our Government intirely reſts; but for the moſt *indirect*, the moſt *iniquitous*, as well as *dangerous Dependence* imaginable; for a *Dependence*, to be created by *Corruption*, which muſt always produce Effects as infamous as its Cauſe, *Corruption*, We ſay, hath been defended, nay recommended (for We will repeat the Aſſertion) as a neceſſary Expedient of Government. The Repreſentation of the Country by the *independent Gentlemen* of the Country, hath been ſaucily and awkardly

awkardly ridiculed; as if a *Bill*, to prevent all Perſons, who have neither *Places* nor *Penſions*, from ſitting in Parliament, was proper to be paſſed, and thoſe ſalutary Laws, which are in Force for preventing Perſons, who have *Places* and *Penſions*, from ſitting there, were as proper to be repealed. Nay, *theſe Incendiaries*, who go about to deſtroy our Conſtitution, have not bluſhed in the ſame Breath to admit that *ſtanding Armies* have been generally the Inſtruments of overturning *free Governments*; and to affirm that a *ſtanding Army* is neceſſary to be kept up in ours; if you aſk Them againſt *whom*, They anſwer you very frankly, againſt the *People*; if you aſk them *why*, They anſwer you with the ſame Frankneſs, becauſe of the *Levity* and *Inconſtancy* of the People. *This* is the *Evil*; an *Army* is the *Remedy*. Our Army is not deſigned, according to theſe *Doctors of Slavery*, againſt the *Enemies* of the Nation, but againſt the *Nation*. We are confident that the *preſent Army* is incapable of being employed to ſuch Purpoſes, and abhors an Imputation, which might have been juſtly caſt on *Cromwel's Army*, but is very unjuſtly inſinuated againſt the *preſent*.

Now let us ſuppoſe that the Time was come, when the Parliament ſhould think fit to cenſure and put a Stop to the Influence of ſuch Writings as Theſe; would any honeſt Man, if He laid his Hand upon his Heart, diſapprove their Proceedings? On the contrary, would not every Man, who wiſhed that the Conſtitution of this Government might be preſerved, applaud ſuch Meaſures, and bleſs the Repreſentatives of his Country for their Zeal againſt the Betrayers of it?

Upon the whole Matter, We think it very plain that the Alarm, which was taken at the

Propagation

Propagation of theſe infamous Doctrines, in the Reign of King *James the firſt*, is abundantly juſtified, not only by the Examples of *other Parliaments*, but by the general Senſe of Mankind in all Ages.

Whenever the Fundamentals of a free Government are attacked, or any other Schemes, ruinous to the general Intereſt of a Nation, are purſued; the beſt Service, that can be done to ſuch a Nation, and even to the Prince, is to commence an *early* and *vigorous Oppoſition* to them; for the Event will always ſhew, as We ſhall ſoon ſee in the preſent Caſe, that Thoſe, who form an Oppoſition, in this Manner, are the trueſt Friends to Both, however They may be ſtigmatized at firſt with odious Names, which belong more properly to Thoſe, who throw the Dirt at Them.

If the *Oppoſition* begin late, or be carried on more faintly, than the Exigency requires, the Evil will grow; nay it will grow the more by ſuch an Oppoſition; till it becomes at length too inveterate for the ordinary Methods of Cure; and whenever That happens; whenever Uſurpations on national Liberty are grown too ſtrong to be checked by theſe ordinary Methods, the People are reduced to this Alternative. They muſt either ſubmit to *Slavery* and *Beggary*, the worſt of all political Evils; or They muſt endeavour to prevent the impending Miſchief by *open Force* and *Reſiſtance*, which is an Evil but one Degree leſs eligible than the other. But when the *Oppoſition* is begun early, and carried on vigorouſly, there is Time to obtain Redreſs of Grievances, and put a Stop to ſuch Uſurpations, by thoſe gentle and ſafe Methods, which their Conſtitution hath provided; Methods, which may and have often proved

ved fatal to *wicked Miniſters*, but can never prove fatal to the *Prince* Himſelf.———He is never in Danger but when theſe *Methods*, which all arbitrary Courts diſlike, are too long delayed.

The moſt plauſible Objection to ſuch Proceedings, and by which well-meaning Men are frequently made the Bubbles of Thoſe, who have the worſt Deſigns, ariſes from a falſe Notion of *Moderation*. True *political Moderation* conſiſts in not oppoſing the Meaſures of Government, except when great and national Intereſts are at Stake; and when That is the Caſe, in oppoſing them with ſuch a Degree of Warmth, as is adequate to the Nature of the Evil, to the Circumſtances of Danger attending it, and even to Thoſe of Opportunity. To oppoſe upon any other Foot; to oppoſe Things, which are not blameworthy, or which are of no material Conſequence to the national Intereſt, with ſuch Violence as may diſorder the Harmony of Government, is certainly *Faction*; but it is likewiſe *Faction*, and *Faction* of the worſt Kind, either not to oppoſe at all, or not to oppoſe in earneſt, when Points of the greateſt Importance to the Nation are concerned.

The Truth of all this Reaſoning will be confirmed by what remains to be ſaid of King *James* and King *Charles the firſt*.———If there had not been an *early* and *honeſt Oppoſition*, in Defence of national Liberty, againſt King *James*, his Reign would have ſufficed to eſtabliſh Him in the Seat of *arbitrary Power*.———If the *Oppoſition* had been more generally backed with the Weight of the *Nation* in due Time; if the *Court* had not been able to divide Men againſt their general Intereſt, upon Principles of *Prerogative* and *Liberty*, King *James* muſt have complied in Time; the

Conſtitution

Conſtitution would have been reſettled on its right Foundation; his Family would have been preſerved; all our national Calamities would have been prevented; and the Sins of the Court might have been expiated by the Puniſhment of one or two of the *Miniſters*. ——— But a *Prerogative Party* having been nurſed up from the Beginning, and gained Strength in the whole Courſe of King *James*'s Reign, the Strength of the Nation was divided, and the Conteſt continued ſo long between the *King* and the *People*, that *Reſentment* and *Paſſion* and *Prejudice* and *Faction* took Place on all Sides. The ſoft and gentle Methods of Cure, which our Conſtitution had provided, became impracticable. A provoked People ſought their Remedy in *Reſiſtance*. A *civil War* followed. The *Engliſh* Government was ſubverted, inſtead of being reformed.

What hath been ſaid will ſerve to juſtify the Conduct of the *Parliament*, as well as the general Alarm, which the *Nation* had taken in 1614. Theſe were the Crimes, the heinous, unpardonable Crimes, for which King *James* diſſolved the Parliament, with ſo much Indignation, after They had ſate but a few Weeks, and had not Time given Them to paſs even one Law. These were the Crimes, for which He confined to the *Tower* and *other Priſons*, and puniſhed in *other Ways*, ſo many of the moſt active Members. Laſtly, Theſe were the Crimes, which made Him reſolve, what He had before attempted, to govern *without Parliament*. —— The particular Conſequences of theſe Meaſures will appear in our next Letter, when We come to conſider *his Conduct of our national Intereſts abroad, againſt the Senſe of the Nation*; in which Period of Time, the *foreign Affairs*

Affairs are ſo intermixed with *parliamentary* and *domeſtick Affairs*, that We ſhall not divide them, but ſpeak of them together, having firſt very briefly made our Obſervations on his *Management of Parties*.

LETTER XXII.

IN Letter XVIII, We have ſpoken of the State of *Parties* at the Acceſſion of King *James*. We are now to make our Obſervations on his *Management of them*. It is neceſſary We ſhould do This, in order to give a compleat and juſt Idea of his Government; and yet ſo much hath been ſaid on the Subject by Writers of all Denominations, and even by ourſelves, that there remains but very little to be added, either for Curioſity, or Inſtruction.

We might obſerve how He drew Himſelf, into ſome Trouble, if not Danger, and expoſed Himſelf to the Neceſſity of ſhedding ſome Blood, in the very firſt Months of his Reign, by eſpouſing the Paſſions of a *Party*; by diſgracing and proſcribing Men, who had no Crime at that Time towards Him, but their Attachment to the late Queen; by avowing the Cauſe of the Earl of *Eſſex*, whoſe Deſigns had been, no doubt, as treaſonable, at leaſt, and as chimerical too, as Thoſe, into which He drove *Grey*, *Cobham* and *Raleigh*, or which were imputed to Them.

Several other Anecdotes, concerning *Factions at Court* and *Parties in the Nation*, might be collected and remarked upon. But We ſhall paſs them over, and confine ourſelves to obſerve, in a very few

few Inſtances, how He adapted his particular *Management of Parties* to the general and main Deſign of his *Policy*; what Strength He acquired; what Strength He loſt by this Conduct; and what Conteſts He entailed on Poſterity.

There were no *Parties*, at this Time, in the Nation, but ſuch as were formed on *religious Differences*; and it had been a great Object of the Policy of Queen *Elizabeth*, to keep *all Parties* within thoſe Bounds. We know the Maxims, on which ſhe proceeded, by a Letter of Sir *Francis Walſingham*, writ expreſly on this Subject. She thought that *Conſciences were not to be forced, but won and reduced by Truth, Time, Inſtruction and Perſuaſion*; and that *Cauſes of Conſcience loſe their Nature when they exceed their Bounds, and grow Matter of Faction.*—By keeping to theſe Maxims, ſhe ſucceeded. The *Parties in the Church* made none in the *State*. They were obliged to live in due Subjection to Laws, wiſely made and moderately exerciſed. They were never puniſhed, whilſt They continued in this Subjection; much leſs were They provoked, or encouraged to go out of it. The Powers of the *Church* were applied to the Support of the *Eſtabliſhment*, not rendered ſubſervient to any factious Deſigns of the *Court*; and eccleſiaſtical Violence was reſtrained from confirming the Obſtinacy of Thoſe, who diſſented, by Perſecution of them, or from increaſing their Numbers, by Perſecution of others.

Directly oppoſite to this Conduct was That of King *James*.——In haſte to ſhew his Parts He had a Conference between the *Biſhops* and the *Puritan Miniſters* at *Hampton Court*, in a few Months after his Acceſſion; where He made Himſelf a principal Party in the Diſpute. His *Court-*

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tiers flattered Him, and Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, who died ſoon afterwards, and probably doated then, declared Himſelf *verily perſuaded that the King ſpake by the Spirit of God.* But ſurely ſuch a *Conference*, however it might frighten and ſilence, could neither inſtruct, nor perſuade; and the King was ſo far from truſting, like his Predeceſſor, to the *Force of Truth* and the *Aid of Time*, that in this very Conference, He threatened to employ another Kind of Force, if He did not meet with Compliance in a Time, to be limited. The Biſhops were at firſt to *admoniſh paternally* and to *confer amicably*; but leſt They ſhould not ſucceed by *preaching*, *writing* and *loving* Men into Conformity, (the ſole Means They ought to deſire; or, if They deſired others, the ſole Means they ought to be ſuffered to employ) They were to have Recourſe to *Compulſion* afterwards.——The ſame Spirit reigned in the firſt Speech, which *this Prince* made to his Parliament; for there He not only maſſed together, imprudently as well as unjuſtly, all the Diſſenters from the eſtabliſhed Church under the general Denomination of *Puritans* and *Noveliſts*, but He declared them all *inſufferable in any well-governed Commonwealth*; ſo that He put them all out of his Protection, even though They confined Themſelves within thoſe Bounds, to which *Cauſes of Conſcience* may reaſonably extend, and proſcribed them for their *Opinions*, not their *Practices*.

On theſe Principles He proceeded, and what We have ſaid here may ſuffice, upon this Head, for his whole Reign.——The Conſequence of this Conduct was, that *thoſe Sects*, who were not dangerous at firſt, became ſo at laſt. They became ſo, in ſome Degree, from the Moment the Declarations We have mentioned were made; for nothing

nothing is found more true in Nature and Experience than This; that They, who are oppreſſed by Governments, will endeavour to change them and that He, who makes Himſelf terrible to Multitudes, will have Multitudes to fear.—But This was not all.--As He made *theſe Sects* his Enemies, ſo He gave them great Advantages, of Popularity and Strength.--The *firſt* of theſe Advantages, which We ſhall take Notice of, aroſe from the great Indulgence He ſhewed to the *Roman Catholicks*, and the favourable Sentiments of *that Religion*, which He expreſſed on all private, and many publick Occaſions. We need not deſcend into the particular Inſtances; for though We give little Credit to *Deageant's Memoirs* in general, and none to what He ſays of a *Letter*, written by King *James* to the *Pope*, acknowledging Him *Vicar of Chriſt* and *Head of the Church*; yet is there a Multitude of other Proofs too notorious and too well ſupported to be denied.——We think it plain, upon the whole Matter, that ſeveral Paſſages in his Conduct, both before and after his coming into *England*, were unworthy of a *Proteſtant King* at any Time, and were equally impolitick at this Time; when the Zeal of *Papiſts* to attack, and of *Proteſtants* to defend the *Reformation*, was at the higheſt Pitch; and when even the leaſt Condeſcenſion, on either Side would have been thought little leſs than Apoſtacy. Fear for his *Perſon*, and little Notions of *Policy* were probably the Motives, which determined this Part of his Conduct; but whatever the Motives were, the Effect was certainly This. He made the Cauſe of the *Court* to paſs amongſt many for the Cauſe of *Popery*; and it was not hard, by Conſequence, for the *Puritans*, who were oppreſſed by the *Court*, to make their Cauſe paſs for The

of the *Reformation*. We are far from thinking that This was properly the Caſe on either Side; but the Appearances were ſtrong enough to fix ſuch Prejudices in the Minds of Men, already prepared by Jealouſy and Suſpicion. This Advantage, ſo fooliſhly given, operated ſtrongly againſt the *Court*, both in *this Reign* and the *next*. In *This*, it was applied to no ill Purpoſes. In the *next*, it was very wickedly improved; but They, who gave it firſt, and who continued to give it afterwards, are juſtly to be reputed the Accomplices of Thoſe, who improved it ſo wickedly, how much ſoever They ſtood in Oppoſition to one another.

A ſecond Advantage of Popularity and Strength, which King *James* gave to the *Puritans*, was This. He ranked amongſt *their Party*, nay He drove into *that Party*, as much as he was able, by ſevere Uſage, all Thoſe, who ſtood up in Defence even of *civil Liberty*. The Averſion, which He expreſſed to the *Puritans*, formed a Kind of League between *Him* and the warmeſt of the *eſtabliſhed Clergy*; and when Theſe were once become a *Court Party*, We are not to wonder if *others* grew as warm as Theſe, and if the greateſt Part of that Body of Men united in a Cauſe, which flattered their *Paſſions*, and opened the Road of *Preferment* to them. *No King no Biſhop*, was the Language of the *Court*. *No Biſhop no King*, was That of the *Church*. Had the *Monarchy* and the *Hierarchy* been attacked, this united Zeal in a common Cauſe would have been commendable and ſucceſsful too; for the Nation was not now, nor for a long Time afterwards, ſo diſtempered, that any *Faction* could raiſe its Head with Effect againſt the juſt Prerogative of the *Crown* and the eſtabliſhed

bliſhed Rights of the *Church*. But the Truth re-
quires We ſhould ſay, that *this Union* was forme
to offend and invade, and to extend Both beyon
the Bounds preſcribed to them by the *Engli*
Conſtitution. It was great Blindneſs in the *Clerg*
not to ſee that by enlarging the Bottom of the *Cour*
They narrowed *their own*; that They fixed a *Cen-*
ter of Union, wherein all their divided Enemie
would meet, and unite with many, who were the
Friends to the *Church*, but might come, as it hap-
pened afterwards, from being againſt the *Clergy*
to be againſt the *Church* itſelf. It was a grea
Misfortune to the *Nation*, that the *Clergy* did no
ſee theſe Truths in Time; ſince if They had ſee
Them, They might have been happy Inſtrumen
of preventing that Miſchief, which followed ſoo
after the Time We ſpeak of, and that Diviſion
Intereſts between the *Crown* and the *People*, whic
was created by King *James*, and hath proved
fatal to his Poſterity.———But to return.—By
contrary Conduct, by eſpouſing and ſanctifyin
the Principles and by promoting the Meaſures
King *James*, the *Clergy* became Part of the *Factio*
of the Court, and ſhared very unjuſtly the Imputa
tion of favouring *Popery*, but very juſtly That
advancing *Tyranny*. This was a ſecond Advan
tage, which King *James* gave to the *Puritan*
He varniſhed their Cauſe with Popularity, and H
increaſed their Numbers. He made *Puritans* i
his Time, as *Janſeniſts* have been ſince made i
France, and *Jacobites* in *Britain*, by calling Me
ſo, and by treating them as ſuch.——They mu
have been ſharp-ſighted, indeed, of whom m
Lord *Clarendon* ſpeaks, and who could diſcern *th*
Rebellion contriving from, if not before, the Death
Queen Elizabeth; but They muſt be quite blin
wh

who do not diſcern the Seeds of Rebellion ſowing in every Part of the Conduct of King *James*, and particularly in This, which We have now touched; the *Management of Parties*.

Theſe Evils were aggravated, and the Conſequences of them were precipitated by *his conducting our national Intereſts abroad againſt the Senſe of the Nation*.

During the firſt Period, into which We divide this Reign (That is, to the Year 1614) King *James* meddled little, and, to ſay the Truth, had little Occaſion to meddle in *foreign Affairs*. —— The *Treaty*, which He made with *Spain* in 1604, had been much cenſured, and Sir *C. Cornwallis*, in a Letter to the Lord *Cranburne*, aſſerts, *that* England *never loſt ſuch an Opportunity of winning Honour and Wealth unto it, as by relinquiſhing the War* againſt an exhauſted Kingdom, and a Prince held in little Veneration *for ſuffering Himſelf to be wholly governed by a Man generally hated*. This *Treaty*, however, was not probably ſo bad as it had been repreſented, and the Commerce opened with *Spain* became a Source of inexhauſtible Riches to our Nation; but ſtill there was ſomething prepoſterous and mean in the Conduct of King *James* abroad, even whilſt He had ſo little to do there, and ſo ſafe a Part to act. He courted that very Power, the Power of *Spain*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* had broke, and who would have courted Him, if He had known how to put ſo much as *Dignity* in his Proceedings. He diſobliged the *Dutch*, whoſe Power had been raiſed by Queen *Elizabeth*, and who muſt have continued to depend on Him, if He had known how to be either a *Friend*, or an *Enemy*; and yet He bore moſt ignominiouſly from this very People the greateſt Injuries

ries and Affronts imaginable. He had neither th
Courage to chaſtiſe this *infant State*, nor the Sen
to protect it. Their Treaty with their old Ma
ters, the *Spaniards*, began in the Year 1607; wa
continued in 1608; and ended, in 1609, in
Truce of twelve Years. During the whole Cour
of this long Negotiation, King *James* ſhewed h
Partiality in Favour of the *Spaniards*; and thoug
He ſigned, about this Time, two Treaties wi
the *States* as *Sovereigns*; yet He made no Scrupl
upon ſome Occaſions, of declaring them *Rebe*
——The Death of the Duke of *Cleves*, and t
Diſputes about that Succeſſion, preſented to *Hen*
the fourth an Opportunity He waited for; and H
was ready, when *Ravaillac* ſtabbed Him, to atta
the Houſe of *Auſtria*, whoſe Power in *Germa*
began once more to give Umbrage, though *Rod*
phus the ſecond was ſtill on the *Imperial* Thron
King *James* left his Troops with the *Dutch*, no
withſtanding the Truce. They were employ
in this Quarrel; and We cannot think Him
blame for taking no farther Part in the Hoſtiliti
His Views were, and They ought to have bee
at this Time, and in this Reſpect, very differe
from Thoſe of that heroical King of *France*. B
in the new Scene of *German* Affairs, which open
a few Years afterwards, and which continued, d
ring the laſt Period of his Reign, (That is, fro
the Year 1614) nothing could be more ſcandalo
than his taking no Part at all, except his taki
the Part He did take.——That He ſhould ha
made Himſelf a *Principal* in that terrible W
which broke out in *Germany* in 1618, and wh
laſted thirty Years, We cannot perſuade ourſelv
neither do We believe that any Man, who d
not take up his Opinions on Truſt, but exami
th

this intricate and perplexed Part of the Hiſtory of the laſt Century with Care, will be of another Mind; and yet King *James* muſt have made Himſelf a *Principal* in this War, if He had engaged in it, as He was adviſed by ſome to engage, and as He hath been blamed by many for not engaging.—The Cenſures, under which He hath paſſed on this Occaſion, would have been juſter, if Thoſe, who have made them, had diſtinguiſhed better between the *Patrimony* of his Children, by defending the *Palatinate*, and promoting their *Grandeur*, by ſeconding their *Ambition*; between contributing to ſupport the *Proteſtant Intereſt* abroad, and taking on his Shoulders a Load, which it was neither reaſonable nor poſſible that He ſhould bear; between that Conduct, which He ought to have held, as King of *this Iſland*, and That, which He might have been obliged to hold, if his Dominions had lain on the *Continent*. Our Writings will not paſs, We believe, for Apologies in Favour of King *James*; and yet We ſhall explain this Point a little leſs to his Diſadvantage, perhaps than it hath been uſually taken.

If King *James* had followed the Advice of Thoſe, who would have had Him enter into an immediate War to maintain the *Elector Palatine* on the Throne of *Bohemia*, He muſt have exhauſted and ruined this Nation to ſupport it. He muſt have furniſhed Subſidies to *Bethem Gabor* and the Prince of *Anſpach*; He muſt have fed the War in *Hungary*; fomented the Revolt in *Auſtria*; paid the Army of the *Princes of the Union*; oppoſed the Duke of *Bavaria* in *Bohemia*, and *Spinola* in the *Palatinate*.——Let us conſider, in Oppoſition to whom, and in Concert with whom,

He

He muſt have carried on this vaſt Undertaking.— On *one Side*, the whole *Popiſh* Intereſt, in the *Empire*, was cloſely united, and the Cauſe of *Ferdinand* was the common Cauſe of the Party. The *Popiſh* Intereſt, out of the *Empire*, conſpired in the ſame Cauſe. The King of *Poland* aſſiſted the *Emperor* in *Hungary*. Troops from *Italy*, and a great Army from the *Netherlands*, acted for Him in *Germany*. The Purſe of the *Pope* and That of the King of *Spain* were open to Him. Even *France*, who ought in good Policy to have oppoſed the Houſe of *Auſtria*, was induced, by the Bigotry of her Court and, perhaps, by the private Intereſt of *Luines*, to declare for the *Emperor* againſt the King of *Bohemia*.———On the *other Side*, the *Proteſtant Intereſt*, in the *Empire*, was far from being cloſely united, and farther ſtill from making the Cauſe of *Frederick* the common Cauſe of the Party. Even the *Princes of the Union* had different Views; many of them leaned to the *Emperor*; none of them could be intirely depended upon; and the Elector of *Saxony*, the moſt powerful of the Proteſtant Princes of the Empire, was ſo far from uniting with the others, that He was firſt privately, and afterwards openly, but all along very ſteadily on the Side of *Ferdinand*. Out of the Empire, ſome Aſſiſtance might have been expected from the King of *Denmark* and the *Dutch*; but even their Acceſſion muſt have been purchaſed; at leaſt, it muſt have been made uſeful, at the Expence of *Britain*. What other Allies could King *James* have hoped for; and who can ſee, without ſmiling, in the godly Prelate, Archbiſhop *Abbot's* Letter to Sir *Robert Naunton*, the Name of *the Duke of* Bouillon *together with* Tremouille, *a rich Prince in France*, mentioned upon ſuch an Occaſion? — Short and imperfect

imperfect as the Account We have given is; Thoſe, who know the State of *Europe* at the Time we ſpeak of, know that it is true; and if We were to look no farther than the Repreſentations made by *Juliana* of *Naſſau* to her *Son*, againſt his accepting the Crown of *Bohemia*, We ſhould diſcover in them, with the true and fatal Reaſons why King *James* did not aſſiſt *Frederick* at all, unanſwerable Reaſons why he ought not to have taken upon Him the *Bohemian* Quarrel in the Manner He muſt have taken it, if He had taken it upon Him at that Time. That King *James* ſhould have prepared for this Storm, which was long in gathering; that He ſhould have laboured to unite and to fortify the Proteſtants of *Germany*, before it happened; and to comfort and ſuccour and protect them, after it happened; that He had many fair Opportunities of doing This, without engaging farther than the Intereſt of *Britain* allowed; and that He neglected them all, We admit, and are able to ſhew.—— He might have put Himſelf on ſuch a Foot in *Europe*, as to have mediated at leaſt (which was the only Part He attempted to act) ſucceſsfully for the *Bohemians*, and to have ſcreened his *Son-in-Law* from the Vengeance of the *Emperor*, and the Ambition of the Duke of *Bavaria*. But He put Himſelf on ſuch a Foot, and He acquired ſuch a Character, that He had no Credit among the *Proteſtants*, nor much Influence over his *Son-in-Law*, and that the *Roman Catholick Party*, ſure of amuſing Him, neglected and deſpiſed Him. He might have declined taking the *Bohemian* Quarrel upon Him; and yet not have made his Court to the *Emperor* and the King of *Spain*, by diſavowing and condemning *Frederick*, and even by ſuffering them

not only to drive *this Prince* out of *Bohemia*, but to take the *Palatinate* from Him and his Family, and give a Wound, almoſt mortal, to the whole *Proteſtant Cauſe* in *Germany*. Nay, He did worſe. By *fooliſh Embaſſies* and *ridiculous Negotiations*, He gave Time, and furniſhed Advantages, which could not have been had without his Aſſiſtance, to the *Popiſh Party*. By the ſame Means He checked, He weakened, He diſcouraged, and more than once diſarmed, the *Proteſtant Party*. In ſhort, not only the *Principles* of his Conduct were *wrong*, but the *Meaſures* of it compoſed ſuch a Series of *Blunders* as We ſeldom find in Hiſtory; becauſe it is hardly poſſible, in the Courſe of Nature, that *ſuch Characters*, in *ſuch Situations*, ſhould appear above once in a Century.

It may be objected, perhaps, by ſome of the *Writers*, who adorn and inſtruct the preſent Age, that King *James* was univerſally and juſtly condemned for not taking the *Bohemian* Quarrel upon Him, as well as for not defending the *Palatinate*; and that He muſt have purſued, in the *laſt Caſe*, the ſame Meaſures as We think Him juſtified for not purſuing in the *former*. We ſhall not refute this Objection by ſhewing, as it would be eaſy for us to do, in various Particulars, the prodigious Difference between the *two Caſes*; the inſuperable Difficulties he would have encountered in *one*, and the many Facilities he would have had in the *other*. The Deduction would be too long and extenſive for the narrow Limits of theſe Eſſays. But We ſhall content ourſelves with making two Obſervations, ſufficient to ſatisfy any reaſonable Man, and which will ſhew, at the ſame Time, what different Notions of the Part this Nation ought to take in *foreign Affairs*, were entertained by our

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Forefathers, from Thoſe, which We, their wiſer Offspring, have purſued. When King *James* took the Reſolution of calling the *Parliament*, which ſate in 1621, the Battle of *Prague* was loſt, and *Bohemia* too with it. The * Affections of the *People* were raiſed, but it was for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*; and in this *Point* the Senſe of the *Parliament* went along with the Affections of the *People*. On the *other Point*, the Senſe of the *Parliament* had not been expreſſed, there having been no *Parliament* held from the Year 1614 till this Time. But what this Senſe would have been, may be eaſily collected, from the Advice given in the *Petition and Remonſtrance of the Commons*, at this Time. As zealous as They were to engage even in a War, for recovering the *Palatinate*, They were not enough tranſported by their Zeal, or enough biaſſed in favour of any *foreign Intereſt*, to forget the true Intereſt of *Britain*. They adviſed the King to a War; but They adviſed Him *not to reſt upon a War in thoſe Parts only, which would conſume his Treaſure, and diſcourage his People*. They adviſed, *that the Bent of this War might be againſt that Prince*, (the King of *Spain*) *whoſe Armies and Treaſures had firſt diverted, and ſince maintained, the War in the Palatinate*. On which Side now was the *Senſe of the Nation*; and how impertinent are They, who have quoted *this Senſe*, to authorize our taking Part in every *German* Quarrel, by paying *Subſidies*, maintaining *Armies*, and involving ourſelves in all the Affairs of the *Continent*? How monſtrous is the Abſurdity and Impudence of † *Thoſe*, who have aſſerted, that

* See *Ruſh. Coll.*

† *See* Obſervations on the preſent State of Affairs.

the Caſe of the People of the *Palatinate*, invaded by a powerful Enemy, who pretended to nothing leſs than the Conqueſt of them, is Parallel to That of the People of *Hanover*, invaded by Nobody, and over whom no foreign Power pretends to any Dominion! ——The *Parliament* pointed out to King *James* a Meaſure effectual for ſupporting the *Proteſtant Intereſt* abroad; but ſuch a Meaſure as this Nation might purſue by exerting her *natural Strength*. —— The Power of *Spain* ſupported the *Emperor* and the *Popiſh League*; an Army of *Spain* conquered the *Palatinate*; and yet the Artifices of *that Court* deluded King *James* to ſuch a Degree, that He dreamed of recovering the Patrimony of his Children by the good Offices of the *Spaniards*, and was incapable of purſuing, in earneſt, any other Meaſures, even at the Time when *Spinola* was ſtripping them of this Patrimony, and reducing them to ſeek their Bread in another Country. To this Dependence on *Spain* He ſacrificed not only *Them*, but his *own Honour*, the Affection of his *Subjects*, the Proſperity of his *Kingdoms*, and the Security of the *Proteſtant Religion*. It was this magick Charm, which the *Parliament* endeavoured in vain to diſſolve, by preſſing Him to a War with *Spain*, which his *maritime Force* could have carried on principally; which would have ſtopped that Source, from whence the *Popiſh Party* in *Germany* derived ſo many Supplies; and which would have rendered the *Proteſtant Party*, by Conſequence, a more equal Match for the *Emperor*.——But This was not the *ſole wiſe* and *honeſt View*, which the *Parliament* propoſed, by pointing out and inſiſting on *this Meaſure*. There was *another*, which touched them more nearly, and which They had more at Heart. We ſhall mention

tion it in our next Diſcourſe, and it will lead us from our Obſervations on *this Reign* to thoſe few on the *next*, with which we intend to cloſe, at leaſt for the preſent, all our Remarks on the Hiſtory of *England*.

LETTER XXIII.

ANOTHER Object, beſides recovering the *Palatinate*, which the Parliament had in View, when They preſſed King *James* to break with *Spain*, was preventing the Marriage of the Prince of *Wales* to the *Infanta*. He had been bantered and abuſed by the *Spaniards*, when He treated a Marriage between his eldeſt Son, Prince *Henry*, and *Anne* of *Auſtria*; and yet no ſooner did the Duke of *Lerma*, in the Year 1616, make ſome Overtures of marrying the *Infanta Mary*, ſecond Daughter of *Philip the third*, to Prince *Charles*, but this *Solomon* of ours catched at the Bait, which was thrown out to Him, and hung faſt on the Hook for ſeven Years together.

The Scheme of farther Uſurpations in *Germany* was already laid, by the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and the Character of *Ferdinand*, who was to ſucceed *Matthias*, and who did ſucceed Him three Years afterwards, gave Hopes of puſhing theſe Uſurpations with Vigour and Advantage.——The Part of *Spain* had been great in promoting theſe Deſigns. It was eſſential to their Succeſs that it ſhould be ſo likewiſe in the Execution of them. No Oppoſition, of any Moment, was to be apprehended from *France*, where the Principles of *Deſpotiſm* and of *Bigot-Popery* prevailed more than

ever, and who had concluded, in the Year 1615, a double Marriage with *Spain*. The Truce of twelve Years, made with the *Dutch* in 1609, would enable the *Spaniards* to ſupport the *Popiſh League* from the *Low Countries*, as in all Caſes They might do from *Italy*; and if They could keep the King of *Great Britain* from diverting the Forces of *Spain* in the mean Time, there was Reaſon to hope, that theſe united Powers might conquer both the *Palatinates*, as well as *Bohemia*, and break the Force of the *Proteſtant League* in *Germany*, before the Expiration of the Truce, and Renewal of the War with the United Provinces of the *Low Countries*, ſhould create another Diverſion. ——This was a principal Part of the Plan laid by the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the other *Roman Catholick Princes*, for oppreſſing the *Proteſtants*, and invading the Liberties of *Germany*. To the eternal Infamy of King *James*, it ſucceeded even beyond the Hopes of Thoſe, who laid it.—— The Hints, which *Digby* gave him in the very Beginning of this Negotiation, might have put him on his Guard, and a thouſand Things, which happened in the Courſe of it, would have undeceived, provoked and determined any other Man. His Preſumption, his Fear, and above all, his perverſe Syſtem of Policy, prevented any Effects of theſe Kinds. We forbear entering into the Particulars of what He did for *Spain*; of what he ſuffered *Spain* to do; and of all the Indignities, which He received from every Branch of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, during theſe Tranſactions. Moſt of them have been obſerved, and are ſufficiently known; and it would be an unneceſſary Work to point out ſome few Inſtances more, which have not been, perhaps, taken Notice of, or explained

as

as much as They deſerved. We ſhall ſpare ourſelves and our Readers this diſagreeable Recollection, and only obſerve in general the Plan, upon which King *James* appears to have acted; as We have obſerved what the Plan was of Thoſe, who made ſo fatal an Uſe of his Weakneſs. His ſilly Pride could not be ſatisfied, unleſs He matched his Son with a Daughter of *Spain*, or *France*. He had been diſappointed formerly on that Side, and lately on This. He was reſolved at any Rate not to be diſappointed a third Time. The immenſe Sum, which had been promiſed for the *Infanta*'s Portion, tempted Him the more, becauſe for ſeveral Years he would call no *Parliament* to grant Him *Supplies*, and He found it hard to raiſe them, even in ſmall Proportions, without a *Parliament*. He imagined vainly, that this Alliance with *Spain* would give Him great Conſideration abroad; and wickedly, that it would afford him Means of raiſing and extending his Prerogative at home. He ſaw the Miſchiefs, which accrued to the *Proteſtant Intereſt* abroad, either as immediate, or as remote Effects of his Conduct; either in Conſequence of what He did, or in Conſequence of what He neglected; and We are willing to believe that He felt, in ſome Degree, Thoſe, which fell on the *Family*, into which He had married his *Daughter*. But the Intereſt of the *Proteſtants* in general touched Him little. Abroad, as well as at home, He choſe rather by Condeſcenſions and Submiſſions to court his *Enemies*, than to unite his *Friends* among one another, and to attach them to Himſelf. In his Zeal for the imaginary Rights of Princes, He could not forgive the *Elector Palatine* for taking Arms againſt the *Emperor*; and whilſt He looked on Him as a *Rebel*, forgot that He was his

Son. If He remembered it at any Time and felt any Concern, the Sentiment was ſurely very faint; ſince We find that the diſtant and uncertain Proſpect of making ſome tolerable Compoſition for this *unhappy Prince*, by the Interceſſion of *Spain*, was always ſufficient to calm his paternal Solicitude. He ſaw without doubt, at leaſt during the Life of *Philip the third*, who did not die till the Year 1621, that *Spain* was not much in earneſt to give Him the *Infanta*; but He ſeemed reſolved to overcome all Difficulties, and to determine the Councils of *Spain*, and even of *Rome*, in his Favour, by Dint of Conceſſions. The Truth is, He went ſo far in his Conceſſions at laſt, that theſe Councils ſeemed to be determined. Thoſe of *Spain*, at leaſt, were ſo moſt certainly in the Year 1623, even before the Voyage of the *Prince* into *Spain*; and the *Articles* ſworn to both by *Him*, when He was there, and by his *Father* here, amounted to little leſs than a direct Eſtabliſhment of *Popery*. That this Charge is juſt will, We think, appear evident, when it ſhall be remembered, without entering into more Particulars, that by *theſe Articles* the *King* and Prince of *Wales* engaged for the Suſpenſion, and even Abrogation of all Laws made againſt *Roman Catholicks*; that they engaged never to conſent to the making any *new Laws* of the ſame Kind; and that, as the Children to be born of this Marriage were to be educated by their *Mother*, till *ten Years of Age*, in in Compliance with the King of *Spain*'s Demands; ſo the *Prince* was prevailed on to promiſe that He would lengthen this Term till *twelve Years*, according to the Deſire of the *Pope*.

Thus was King *James* amuſed till the Beginning of the Year 1623, when the *Upper Palatinate*

nate, and the Dignity of *Elector*, were taken from *Frederick*, and conferred on the Duke of *Bavaria*, by the Diet of *Ratiſbon*; or, to ſpeak more properly, by the Prerogative of *Ferdinand*, who acted in the *Diet* as dogmatically and as abſolutely as King *James* endeavoured to act in his *Parliaments*. When this Point was gained by amuſing King *James*, and the *Proteſtant Intereſt* was broken in *Germany*; the *next Point* was to be carried by concluding with Him, and making the *Match* on ſuch Terms, as might ſecure an immediate Toleration, and open the Proſpect of a future Eſtabliſhment of *Popery* in this Kingdom.——The *Parliament* of 1621 beheld Part of this Scene, and apprehended, upon very juſt Grounds, the Sequel. They ſaw the fatal Conſequences of the Negotiation, whilſt it was in Suſpence, and They dreaded Thoſe, which would follow the Concluſion of it. To ſtop the *firſt*, and to prevent the *laſt*, there was but one Expedient; the forcing King *James* into a War, for recovering the *Palatinate*. This They endeavoured with all their Might; but He meant nothing leſs, and had called a *Parliament* purely to get *Money* from his People, on Pretence of a *War* he was reſolved not to make. Some Money he got by this Trick; but when he had ſquandered it away in *trifling Negotiations* and a *ridiculous Shew of War*, He could get no more; ſo that *this Parliament* ended as others had done, and even with greater Diſſatisfaction between the *King* and the *People*, both on Account of his conducting *foreign Affairs* againſt the Intereſt and Senſe of the Nation, and of his attacking more openly than ever the Privileges of *Parliament*. The *Parliament* remonſtrated, petitioned, proteſted. The *King* diſſolved the *Parliament* in a

Rage; impriſoned ſeveral Members of the *Houſe of Commons*, and even ſome the *Houſe of Lords*. He reſumed his Project of governing *without Parliaments*, ſince He could not govern as ill as He had a Mind to govern *with them*. But this Project was not purſued above two Years; for what his *Parliament* could not obtain from Him, an *unworthy Favourite* did obtain. Motives of private Intereſt, and perhaps of a worſe Nature, made that great Turn in Affairs, which ſo many Motives of a publick Nature, and of national Intereſt, had never been able to make. In ſhort, a *Cabal at Court* prevailed on *this Prince* to alter his Conduct in thoſe very Points, on which the *Parliament*, ſeconded by the Clamours of the whole Nation, had been never able to prevail. ——— We ſhall not attempt to gueſs, as many have done, at the ſecret Reaſons, which determined *Buckingham*, nor at Thoſe, by which He determined the Prince of *Wales* to undertake the romantick and, in every Light, ridiculous Journey into *Spain*, to carry the Treaty of *Marriage* to a Concluſion; then to break it off again in ſo abrupt and ungracious a Manner; and to become ſo earneſt for engaging in a War with *Spain*. Whatever theſe Reaſons were, the Reaſon given for breaking the *Match* was not the true one. The Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* had been very cooly preſſed, not to ſay neglected, even whilſt the *Prince* was at *Madrid*; and yet after He came from thence, the King of *Spain* had ſigned an *Act*, by which He engaged for this Reſtitution; ſo that on the Principles, on which this Negotiation had been conducted, there ſeemed to be no Reaſon for breaking it off, given by *Spain* at the Time when it was broken. But the *Parliament*, which King *James* called upon this Occaſion, proceeded, like the

laſt,

laſt, on other Principles than the *Court* had done, and was therefore, very conſiſtently with theſe Principles, ready to ſeize the Opportunity offered by adviſing the *King* to break the *Match*, and enter into a War for recovering the *Palatinate*, and by giving Him very large *Supplies* for this Purpoſe.——We cannot, upon this Occaſion, ſubſcribe to the Cenſure paſſed by my Lord *Clarendon*, how much ſoever We eſteem his *Hiſtory*, and honour the Memory of that *noble Hiſtorian*; for, in the *firſt Place*, the *Supplies*, given by this laſt Parliament of King *James*, were not only very large, as We have juſt now ſaid, but They were ſuch as the *King* was contented with, and thanked the *Parliament* for, in his Anſwer to the *Speaker of the Houſe of Commons*. *Secondly*, We cannot agree that it was the *Parliament*, properly ſpeaking, who prevailed on the *King*, and engaged Him in the *War*. The *Parliament* adviſed Him to it, indeed; but nothing can be more manifeſt than This, even by my Lord *Clarendon*'s own Account, that the Meaſure was reſolved on before, and that it was the Meaſure of the *Prince*, and of *Buckingham*, which the *King*, however unwillingly, adopted. The *Parliament* in Truth did no more than adviſe Him to break a *Treaty*, which He had already broken; and Thoſe, who reflect on precedent Paſſages, will eaſily concur with us, that if This had not been the Caſe, it would not have been in the Power of the *Parliament* to break the *Match*; much leſs to engage the *King* in the *War*. *Thirdly*, if *ſubſequent Parliaments* did not ſupport thoſe *great Mountains of Promiſes*, as They are called, which *this Parliament* raiſed, We ſhall venture to affirm that it was the Fault of the *Court*, not of the *Parliaments*.

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This *laſt Article* requires to be ſet in a very clear Light, becauſe it opens to us a Source of Cauſes, from whence a great Part of the Miſchiefs, which followed in the *next Reign*, aroſe; or by which, at leaſt, They were aggravated and precipitated. ——*Firſt*, therefore, We obſerve that the Meaſures of the *Court* were ſo fooliſhly taken for puſhing the *War*, that if *Parliaments* had given by Millions, and given with as little Stint in thoſe Days, as They have given ſince, their Grants muſt have been ineffectual to any good Purpoſe. Juſt before the Death of King *James*, an Army had been raiſed for the *Palatinate War*, under the Command of the famous *Mansfeldt*. The *French* firſt and the *Dutch* afterwards refuſed Paſſage to theſe Troops, or even to ſuffer them to land. The Cry of the Court was loud againſt the Perfidy of *France*, as it had been againſt the *Emperor* and *Spain* in their Turns. This will be always the Caſe, when *ſilly Miniſters* bungle themſelves into Difficulties, of which others make their Profit; or when They knaviſhly engage a national Quarrel for ſome private, indirect Intereſt, and inflame the People to reſent imaginary Injuries. But the Truth is, that King *James* had Nobody to blame but Himſelf, when He took general and ambiguous Anſwers for ſufficient Engagements, and did not ſee that *France* would refuſe Paſſage to theſe Troops for the ſame Reaſons as made Her decline entering, at that Time, into a League againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

Another Blunder commited, about the ſame Time, by this wiſe King, and that wiſe Miniſter, his *Scholar, Buckingham*, muſt be mentioned. He was to take Poſſeſſion of *Frankendal*, which had been depoſited in

in the Hands of the *Infanta Iſabella*. The *Infanta* agreed to yield the Place to Him, and to give Paſſage to his Troops, who were to compoſe the Garriſon, according to her Engagements; but refuſed to anſwer for their Paſſage over the *Lands* of the *Empire*, to which ſhe was not engaged. Then, and not till then, He made this Diſcovery in Geography, that his Troops muſt march over the *Lands* of the *Empire* to get from the *Low Countries* into the *Palatinate*. Such Blunders as Theſe were ſufficient to diſguſt the *Parliaments* of that Age, and to make them backward in ſupplying a *War* thus managed. Much more Reaſon had They to be ſo, when they ſaw the *ſame Managers* and the *ſame Management* continue in the *next Reign*. This Diſguſt at the Management of the *War*, however, would not have produced ſo many fatal Conſequences, if it had ſtood alone. But We obſerve, in the ſecond Place, that the Parliaments, which met after the Acceſſion of King *Charles*, became incenſed, as They diſcovered, more and more, that the Account given by the Duke of *Buckingham*, in the Reign of King *James*, and on which the Reſolutions of that Parliament had been taken, was falſe in almoſt every Point. A Syſtem of *Lies* dreſſed up to deceive the Nation, and impoſed on the *Parliament*, could neither remain undiſcovered, nor eſcape the Reſentment and Indignation it deſerved, when diſcovered. Beſides, that Parliament, and the Nation too, when They expreſſed ſo much Joy at the Breach with *Spain*, flattered Themſelves that, by preventing the Marriage with the *Infanta*, They had prevented all the Dangers, which They apprehended from *that Marriage*; whereas it appeared ſoon afterwards, that They ſtood expoſed to the very

ſame

ſame Dangers by the Marriage concluded with *France*; nay, to greater; ſince the Education of the Children by the *Mother*, That is, in *Popery*, had been confined to *ten Years* by the *former Treaty*, and was extended to *thirteen* by the *latter*. In ſhort, it cannot be denied, and my Lord *Clarendon* owns, that as the Inſolence of *Buckingham* cauſed the War with *Spain*, ſo his Luſt and his Vanity alone threw the Nation into another with *France*. *Spain* was courted firſt without Reaſon, and affronted afterwards without Provocation. Ships were lent to the King of *France* againſt his *Proteſtant Subjects*; and the Perſecution of his *Proteſtant Subjects* was made the Pretence of a Rupture with Him. Thus was the Nation led from one extravagant Project to another, at an immenſe Charge, with great Diminution of Honour, and infinite Loſs to Trade, by the Ignorance, private Intereſt, and Paſſion of *one Man*. The Conduct, therefore, of the *Parliament*, who attack'd *this Man*, was perfectly conſiſtent with the Conduct of *that Parliament*, who had ſo much applauded Him; and one cannot obſerve without Aſtoniſhment the Slip made by the *noble Hiſtorian* We have juſt quoted, when He affirms that the *ſame Men*, who had applauded Him, attacked Him, *without imputing the leaſt Crime to Him, that was not as much known* when They applauded Him, as when They attacked Him. Now it is plain, that many of the Crimes imputed to Him, in the Reign of King *Charles*, when He was attacked, could not be known, and that many others had not been even committed in the Reign of King *James*, when He was, upon one ſingle Occaſion, applauded.

To the Diſguſts, taken at the Management of *foreign Affairs*, muſt be added Thoſe which were daily

daily given by the Court in the Management of *domeſtick Affairs*. Real, not imaginary, Grievances aroſe and were continued in every Part of the Adminiſtration. Some of Theſe King *Charles*, like his *Father*, was obſtinately bent to maintain, and his Right of impoſing them was aſſerted. Others were diſguiſed and excuſed rather than defended; but in redreſſing even Theſe, He ſhewed ſuch a Reluctance, that He complied without obliging, and increaſed the Diſguſt of his People, even whilſt He granted their Requeſts. We have ſaid, in a former Diſcouſe, that *King* Charles *came a Partyman to the Throne*, and that He continued *an Invaſion on the People's Rights, whilſt He imagined Himſelf only concerned in the Defence of his own*. In advancing this Propoſition, We were far from meaning a Compliment at the Expence of Truth. We avow it as an Opinion We have formed on reading the Relations publiſhed on all Sides, and to which, it ſeems to us, that all the authentick Anecdotes of thoſe Times may be reconciled. *This Prince* had ſucked in with his Milk thoſe abſurd Principles of Government, which his *Father* was ſo induſtrious and, unhappily for *King* and *People*, ſo ſucceſsful in propagating. He found them eſpouſed, as true Principles both of *Religion* and *Policy*, by a whole *Party* in the Nation, whom He eſteemed Friends to the Conſtitution in *Church* and *State*. He found them oppoſed by a *Party*, whom He looked on indiſcriminately as Enemies to the *Church* and to *Monarchy*. Can We wonder that He grew zealous in a Cauſe, which He underſtood to concern Him ſo nearly, and in which He ſaw ſo many Men, who had not the ſame Intereſt, and might therefore be ſuppoſed to act on a Principle of Conſcience, equally zealous? Let any one, who hath

hath been deeply and long engaged in the Conteſts of *Party*, aſk Himſelf, on cool Reflection, whether Prejudices, concerning Men and Things, have not grown up and ſtrengthened with Him, and obtained an uncontroulable Influence over his Conduct. We dare appeal to the inward Sentiments of every ſuch Perſon.——With this habitual Biaſs upon him King *Charles* came to the Throne; and, to compleat the Misfortune, He had given all his Confidence to a *mad Man*. An *honeſt Miniſter* might have ſhewn Him how wrong his Meaſures were; a *wiſe one* how ill-timed. *Buckingham* was incapable of either. The Violence and Haughtineſs of his Temper confirmed his *Maſter* in the Purſuit of theſe Meaſures; and the Character of the *firſt Miniſter* became That of the *Adminiſtration*. Other Circumſtances, which often happen, happened likewiſe in this Caſe. The *Miniſter* was univerſally hated; the *King* was not. To ſupport the *Miniſter*, it was neceſſary that the *Prerogative* ſhould be ſtrained, and violent and unpopular Means ſhould be employed. To ſupport the *Government*, nothing of this Sort was neceſſary. Nay, the very contrary Meaſures were neceſſary to reconcile the *King* to his *People*, and to ſtop in Time that Alienation of their Minds from Him, which began even then to appear. In this Difference of Intereſts, Thoſe of the *Crown* were ſacrificed to Thoſe of the *Miniſter*. King *Charles*, who had encouraged Parliamentary Proſecutions, in his Father's Reign, would not ſuffer them in his own. He diſolved his *Parliaments* and broke almoſt all the few Ties of Union, which remained between *Himſelf* and the *Nation*, that He might ſcreen ſome of the *moſt unworthy Men*, who ever diſſerved a *Prince*, or diſhonoured

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a *Court.*———Before the Death of *Buckingham*, irreparable Miſchief was done. *The Diſtemper of the Nation was ſo univerſal*, according to my Lord *Clarendon*, *that all wiſe Men looked upon it as the Prediction of the Deſtruction and Diſſolution, that would follow.* This Prediction was ſoon verified. The *King* executed what He had often threatened. *Parliaments* were laid aſide. The very Mention of them was forbid; and He continued to govern without any for *twelve Years.* During this Interval, the Diſtemper lurked indeed; but it grew more malignant; and if a national *Serenity* appeared about the Time, when the King went into *Scotland*, it appeared juſt when the Poiſon worked moſt effectually, and began to ſeize the Heart. Jealouſies about *Religion* and *Liberty* were now at their Height. The *former*, as far as They affected the *King* and his *Proteſtant Miniſters*, were ill-founded; but for that very Reaſon, it would have been eaſy to cure them; and if They had been cured in Time, as We think, on my Lord *Clarendon*'s Authority, that nothing could have led the *Scots Nation* into Rebellion, ſo are We perſuaded that a great Motive and Spur to the Rebellion in *England* would have been taken away. The *latter* were certainly but too well founded. The *King* had, in a Manner, renounced the *Conſtitution*; and inſtead of governing with the Aſſiſtance and Concurrence of a *Parliament*, He governed by *illegal Acts of Power*, which the *Council*, the *Star-Chamber* and the *High Commiſſion* exerciſed.———There was ſomething ſtill more dangerous to *Liberty* in Practice. Not only the *Government* was carried on *without Law*, or *againſt Law*, but the *Judges* were become the Inſtruments

of

of *arbitrary Power*, and that *Law*, which ſhould have been the Protection of *Property*, was rendered, by their corrupt Interpretations of it, ſo great a Grievance, that *the Foundations of Right were, to the Apprehenſion and Underſtanding of wiſe Men*, ſays my Lord *Clarendon*, *never more in Danger to be deſtroyed.*

Whilſt Things were in this Situation here, King *Charles* lighted up another Fire in *Scotland*, by reſuming the Project of modelling *that Church*, which King *James* had begun. Archbiſhop *Laud*, who had neither Temper nor Knowledge of the World enough to be intruſted with the Government of a *private College*, conducted this Enterprize, and precipitated the publick Ruin. The *Puritans* of *England* ſoon united in a common Cauſe with the *Puritans* of *Scotland*; and the *Army*, which the *latter* had raiſed, marched into *England*. Many of Thoſe, who had appeared againſt the *Court*, and even ſome of Thoſe, who were on the Side of the *Court*, favoured, in different Manners, the *Scots*, and hoped to apply this Force, and to improve this Incident, ſo as to reſtrain the *Prerogative* within known, perhaps narrower Bounds, and to ſtrengthen the Barriers of *publick Liberty*. — That This might have been brought about, and that the *civil War*, which followed, might have been prevented, appeared very manifeſtly in the Temper and Proceedings of the *Parliament*, which met in *April* 1640, when all had been done, which could be done, to deſtroy the *Conſtitution*; for if the *King* had been able to continue to govern *without Parliaments*, the *Conſtitution* had been deſtroyed; and when calling a *Parliament* was viſibly the Effect of *Neceſſity* and *Fear*, not *Choice*, the *Parliament*, which was called, ſhewed *wonderful Order and Sobriety*,

briety *in their whole Behaviour*. If ſome Paſſion had appeared in their Debates, it might have been well excuſed in an *Houſe of Commons* aſſembled at ſuch a Time; and yet ſcarce *an angry Word* was thrown out. The few, that eſcaped from ſome, were either ſilently diſliked, or openly diſapproved. the *King*, even in this Criſis of Affairs, preſerved the ſame Carriage He had formerly uſed towards them, and ſhewed too plainly, that He regarded them only as *Tax-layers*. In a Word, about a Month after their Meeting, He diſſolved them, and as ſoon as He had diſſolved them, He repented; but He repented too late, of his Raſhneſs. Well might He repent; for the Veſſel was now full, and this laſt Drop made the Waters of Bitterneſs overflow. ——— Here we draw the Curtain, and put an End to our *Remarks*, by obſerving, *firſt*, that if the *Spirit of Liberty* had once relaxed in the Space of almoſt forty Years, *Liberty* muſt have been ſwallowed up by *Prerogative*; *ſecondly*, that after theſe long Conteſts between the *King* and the *People*, and when the *latter* had received the utmoſt Provocations, the *Spirit of Liberty* was not tranſported into any Exceſs; determined to defend the *People*, but unwilling to offend the *King*. The *King* (and He alone could have done it) forced the Affairs of the Nation, as He had put his own long before, into the Hands of a *Faction*. The true Friends of the *Conſtitution* were divided; and, divided, were too weak to prevail on either Side. The *Spirit of Faction*, not the *Spirit of Liberty*, is anſwerable for all which followed; and who is anſwerable for reducing the Conteſt, on *both Sides*, to be the Conteſt of *Faction*, may, We think, be ſufficiently collected from what hath been ſaid in theſe Diſcourſes.

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LETTER XXIV.

SIR,

SINCE you have gone through the Taſk, which you undertook at my Deſire, and have carried your *Remarks on the Hiſtory of England*, as far as you judge them neceſſary at this Time, I think myſelf obliged to return you Thanks for your Trouble, and to ſay ſomething to you, concerning the Clamour raiſed, and the Conduct held, upon this Occaſion, by *Thoſe*, who not content with the Merit of being *your Adverſaries*, have declared Themſelves ſuch at laſt to the very Being of the *Britiſh Conſtitution*, and to the Principles, on which the *preſent Eſtabliſhment* is built, and on which alone it can ſtand ſecure.

Before I left the Town, nay as ſoon as my *firſt Letter* to you appeared, the whole Poſſe of *miniſterial Scribblers* was ſummoned. Their Number were augmented; perhaps their Penſions. Their Strength, indeed, continued much the ſame; but their Fury redoubled. At my Return to *London* I am informed that theſe *weekly Swarms* have continued to buz about ever ſince; that the *Inſects* have been diſperſed by every Flap of your Pen, but, that, like *true Inſects*, They have ſtill gathered again and renewed their Din. — I ſay, that I am informed of This; becauſe, among other Circumſtances, which compoſe the Eaſe and Quiet of a Country Life, We are ſure of not being infeſted there by theſe mighty Swarms of *little Creatures*. As their Lives are ſhort, the Extent, in which They ramble, is narrow, and few of them

them take their Flight beyond the Bills of Mortality.

The Manner, in which *theſe Writers* have ſupported the Diſpute between *You* and *Them*, and the Explanations, to which They have been puſhed, confirm all the Suſpicions, which it was natural to entertain, when ſo great an Alarm was taken at the firſt direct Avowal of an Attempt to revive the *Spirit of Liberty*, and to recal to the Minds of Men the true Notions of the *Britiſh Conſtitution*. They were ſo earneſt to diſcourage the Proſecution of ſuch a Deſign; They were ſo eager to find Fault, where ſo little Fault was to be found, that they catched at every Word, in which They imagined the leaſt Slip had been made, though the Subject would not have been affected, nor the Merits of the Cauſe have been altered, if theſe Slips had been real, and had proceeded from my Ignorance, as the Objections proceeded from theirs.

I ſhould not ſo much as mention This, if it was not neceſſary to ſhew, that your real Crime, as well as mine, towards the *Perſons*, who encourage and direct *theſe Authors*, is our ſtarting the *Subject*, not our *Manner* of treating it. Their Anger appeared, the Clamour of their Party was raiſed, and all the Powers of Scurrility and Calumny were called forth to their Aid, before any of thoſe Pretences were found out, which they afterwards ſo meanly and ſo immorally employed againſt us. To prove This beyond the Contradiction of any Man of Senſe and Candour, it will be only neceſſary to appeal to the whole Scope of my *firſt Letters* to you, which raiſed the Storm; for what do *thoſe Letters* contain beſides general and inoffenſive Reflections on the Nature of *Liberty* and

of

of *Faction*, and on the Neceſſity of keeping th
Spirit of Liberty alive and active, even in Times o
apparent Security? Your Writings were juſtified
indeed, in *theſe Letters*; but ſo they had bee
in *others*, and on many precedent Occaſions. Th
Charge of *Jacobitiſm* was refuted, indeed, wit
the Contempt it deſerved, and *factious Deſigns* o
another Kind, were pointed out; but *factiou*
Deſigns had been imputed to the *ſame Perſons* before
and upon the *ſame Grounds*. It remains then, tha
this *new Alarm* was taken, as I juſt now ſaid, a
the general Deſign of *thoſe Papers*; and if Tha
was ſufficient to give ſuch an Alarm, ſure I am
that you are more than juſtified for all you wri
before this Diſpute begun, and for all you hav
publiſhed in the Courſe of it.

The *old Gentleman*, who defended you in th
former Letters, thought you deſerved the Acknow
ledgments of every honeſt Man for attempting t
revive *this Spirit*, even ſuppoſing you to have n
other Reaſon than your Obſervation that a *contrar*
Temper prevailed. How much is this Reaſon in
forced, how much more do you deſerve the Ac
knowledgments of every honeſt Man, if it is be
come evident, not only that a *ſupine Temper*, con
trary to the Activity of *this Spirit*, had prevailed
but that a *contrary Spirit* hath been raiſed, and tha
Principles, deſtructive of all *Liberty*, and particu
larly adapted to deſtroy That of the *Britiſh Govern
ment*, are avowed, taught and propagated? If
pronounced too haſtily, in my *ſecond Letter*, tha
the *Maſk was pulled off*, ſurely We may now ſay
upon Knowledge, not Belief, *that the Maſk is fa
len off from your Adverſaries, in the Scuffle.*
ſhall not repeat what is ſaid in your Diſcourſes, no
add any Thing to them. You have there quote
th

the *Doctrines of Slavery*. You have ſhewed the direct and indirect Tendency of them all; and you have remarked, that *ſome* of them have been taught even by *Thoſe*, who have in the ſame Breath admitted the *Conſequences* of them. Nothing leſs therefore than a *conſtant* and *vigorous Oppoſition*, of which you have ſet us the Example, will be able to ſtop the Progreſs of thoſe *pernicious Doctrines*. The *Principles*, which King *James the firſt* eſtabliſhed, were not more abſurd than *Theſe*. Their Tendency was more obvious; but, for that Reaſon, They were leſs dangerous. If *thoſe Principles* prevailed very far by Time and Encouragement, and had like to have prevailed farther; why ſhould not *Theſe* have the ſame, or greater Succeſs? It may be ſaid, perhaps, that the Authority of the *Crown* helped the Progreſs of the *former*, which is not our *preſent Caſe*. To this Diſtinction I ſhall ſubmit very readily; but if *theſe Principles* have gained ſome Ground already (and that they have gained ſome cannot be denied) without *this Authority* to inforce them; is there not Reaſon to fear that they may gain more, and is not every Degree They gain a Degree more of Danger to this Conſtitution of Government? Surely, Sir, there can remain no Doubt in the Breaſt of any Man, who hath given the leaſt Attention to the Diſputes between *You* and *your Adverſaries*, whether *They* or *You* are on the Side of *Liberty*; and therefore it is an Aggravation of their Guilt, that They have endeavoured to make *your Writings* paſs for an Oppoſition to the *preſent happy Eſtabliſhment*, and *their Cauſe* for That of the *Crown*. You and I have ſufficiently declared ourſelves, and anſwered Them, on the firſt *Head*. If They had been able to produce an Inſtance, where, departing from your

Subject,

Subject, you had given Occaſion to draw any *odious Parallel*, the Intention of drawing ſuch a *Parallel* might, with ſome Colour, have been imputed to you; but ſince they have not been able to do This, and have been defied to do it, the Reproach and Infamy of making *ſuch Parallels*, as well as the ſcandalous Immorality of imputing Them to *others*, muſt lye at their Door.——Let us ſee how well their Pretenſions are ſupported on the *ſecond Head*, and whether We cannot prove, without any forced Conſtructions of their Words, or arbitrary Interpretations of their Meaning, that the open and ſecret Abettors of *theſe Writers* are either Enemies of the *preſent Eſtabliſhment*, or have ſome *private Intereſt* more at Heart than the true Intereſt of *this Eſtabliſhment*.

This Eſtabliſhment is founded on the Principles of *Liberty*; on the very Principles you have maintained. It was made by the People of *Great Britain*, to ſecure the Poſſeſſion of their *Liberty*, as well as their *Religion*. Had contrary Principles prevailed; either Thoſe, which tend to ſubvert the Conſtitution, by raiſing *Prerogative*, and which were juſtly objected to ſome of the *Tories* formerly; or Thoſe, which tend to ſubvert it, by undermining *Liberty*, and which are as juſtly objected to ſome of the *Whigs* now; *this Eſtabliſhment* could never have been made. Who are *Enemies*, and who are *Friends*, therefore, to *publick Liberty* and to the *preſent Eſtabliſhment*? Are *You* their Enemy, who defend not only the general Principles of *Liberty*, but the particular Principles and the particular Ends, on which and for which *this Eſtabliſhment* was made? Are *your Adverſaries* Friends to *either*, when They only ſeem to admit ſome general Notions of *Liberty*, that they may promote

promote with greater Effect, on particular Occaſions, the Doctrines of *Slavery*; and when they endeavour to deſtroy the Principles, and to defeat the Ends, of the *preſent Eſtabliſhment?* The *Revolution*, and the *Acts of Settlement*, have ſecured us againſt the Dangers, which were formerly apprehended from *Prerogative*. To what Purpoſe are *Meaſures* and Principles of *Policy* daily pleaded for, which would expoſe us to greater Dangers than *Theſe?* Why are ſuch inceſſant Pains taken, to ſhew by what Means *Liberty* may be undermined, and our *Conſtitution* deſtroyed, even now, after all We have done and all We have ſuffered to ſecure *one*, and to improve the *other?* I ſhall not give particular Anſwers to theſe Queſtions; nor offer to aſſign the private Intereſt, which the Perſons, who are guilty of This, may have at Heart; for I will, upon no Occaſion, even ſeem to follow the Example of your *Adverſaries*; nor preſume to deliver my Suſpicions; though real and well-grounded, as the Intentions of other Men. This alone I will repeat; that They, who argue and hire others to argue in this Manner, do in Fact promote ſome Intereſt, which is repugnant to the Ends for which the People of this Nation eſtabliſhed the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, and the *preſent Settlement of the Crown*. They have not yet attacked the *Religion*, but They manifeſtly attack the *Liberty* of their Country; and as much as theſe Two are interwoven together, though it be true that whenever our *Religion* is in Danger, our *civil Liberty* muſt be ſo likewiſe; yet it is as true, that *Religion* may be ſafe and *civil Liberty* in Danger.

I have nothing more to add upon this *Head*, before I proceed to That, which ſhall conclude

my Letter, except my Deſires that you will perſiſt, and my Hopes that you will ſucceed, in the *Cauſe* you have undertaken; the Cauſe of your *Country*; the Cauſe of *Truth* and of *Liberty*. The Means you employ are Thoſe of *Argument* and *Perſuaſion*; the lawful, and the ſole lawful Means, which can be employed to rouze an indolent, to inform a deceived, to reclaim a corrupt, or to reconcile a divided People. Let the *Factious* continue to aſſert, as They have had already the Impudence and the Folly to do, in one of their *miniſterial Pamphlets*, that the Faults they are pleaſed to aſcribe to the People of *Great Britain* * *render an* ARMY *neceſſary*. Inſtead of endeavouring to *preſuade* and to *win*, let them endeavour to *force* and *corrupt* their Countrymen. The *Spirit of Liberty* abhors ſuch Means, and the *Cauſe of Liberty* would be diſhonoured by them. If this Nation was as *corrupt* and *depraved* as it is ſaid to be by *Thoſe*, who do their utmoſt to *corrupt* and *deprave* it; if our Country was in that *declining State*, and the *Freedom of our Government* as near its Period as They affirm, there would remain no Part for any honeſt Man to take, except That of ſitting ſilently down and periſhing in the common Shipwreck; but ſurely This is not yet our Caſe, nor will it become our Caſe, unleſs We are induced to believe it ſo; unleſs We make our Ruin irretrievable by ſtruggling no longer againſt it. There are Men, many, We think, who have not bowed the Knee to *Baal*, nor worſhiped the *brazen Image*. We may therefore hope that there is ſtill

* *See* ſome Obſervations on the preſent State of Affairs.

ſtill a Bleſſing in Store for us. In all Events, Mr. *D'Anvers*, you are ſure of one Advantage, which no Violence, no Injuſtice can take from you; the inward Satisfaction of having ſerved your Country, to the utmoſt of your Power, by thoſe *lawful Means*, which the Conſtitution of its Government allows, and by *no others*.

If I hear in that Retreat, to which Age, the Circumſtances of Fortune, and, above all, the Temper of my Mind determine me, that you ſucceed, I ſhall rejoice in the common Joy. If I hear that you fail, my Concern for you will be loſt in the common Calamity.

The Article, with which I propoſe to conclude my Letter, is of ſuch a Nature that I cannot omit it, on this Occaſion, with any Regard to Truth, Juſtice, Honour, and the Sentiments of a moſt reaſonable Indignation. The *Writers*, who are employed againſt you, have received, with an unlimited Commiſſion to rail, particular Inſtructions to direct their *Billingſgate* chiefly at *two Gentlemen*. The Art of blackening Characters, by private Cloſet Whiſpers, hath been always practiſed, when Power and Confidence have been given to the *Inſolent* and the *Baſe*. Perhaps, it may have been thought proper, at this Time, to confirm the Effect of ſuch Inſinuations by an Eccho from the *Preſs*; and to prevent a general national Clamour from ſounding in *ſome Ears*, by raiſing an artificial Clamour round about them; but whatever the Deſign may have been, ſure I am that this Strain of Malice could not have been employed againſt Men, who value it leſs, or who hold in greater Contempt both the Contrivance and the Contrivers. This *They* may do, becauſe They are falſely and maliciouſly accuſed; but *He*,

who is the Object of a juſt Clamour, and of national Hatred, and who cannot turn his Eyes on Himſelf, without confeſſing to Himſelf, that He is a principal Cauſe of the Grievances of his Country, muſt tremble at a Clamour, which He knows ought, and which He hath Reaſon to fear will, ſooner or later, prevail againſt Him.

The Calumny againſt *one* of the Gentlemen, mentioned above, is confined to *two Heads*; that He hath *left his Friends and Party*, and that He is urged *to oppoſe the* Miniſter *by the Stings of diſappointed Ambition.* How ridiculous is the Charge, and on whom can ſuch Stuff impoſe? Hath he changed his Notions of Right and Wrong in Matters of Government? Hath He renounced the Principles of good Policy, which He formerly profeſſed? His greateſt Enemy is defied to ſhew that He hath; and yet unleſs This can be ſhewn, nothing can be more impertinent, or more ſilly, than the Imputation of leaving his *Friends* and *Party*. If He purſues the ſame general Principles of Conduct, with which He firſt ſet out, and is in Oppoſition now to ſome few of *Thoſe*, with whom He concurred then, *They* have left Him, becauſe They have left the *Principles* They profeſſed. *He* left *neither.* For Inſtance, He inveighs againſt *publick Profuſion* and *private Corruption.* He combats *both* with a conſtant Inflexibility, which might have done Honour to a *Roman Citizen*, in the beſt Times of that Commonwealth. Hath He left his *Friends* in doing This? No; *They*, who oppoſe Him in it, have left both *Him* and *Virtue*; and *ſuch Men*, though They have ſometimes had the Honour to concur with *Him*, could never be his *Friends.*

Is the *latter Part* of the Charge better founded?

Is

Is it not a manifeſt begging of the Queſtion, and a begging of it on the leaſt probable Side? He aſſiſted a *Miniſter* to riſe to Power. He oppoſes *this Miniſter* in Power. *Ergo*, *Spight* and *Reſentment* are his Motives. May not the *Abuſe*, which He apprehends this *Miniſter* makes of his *Power*; may not *Meaſures*, which He fears are wicked, knows are weak, and ſees obſtinately purſued, be his Motives? May not *dangerous Ambition*, *inſatiable Avarice*, and *inſolent Behaviour*, be his Provocations? May not *this Gentleman* think Himſelf the more obliged to contribute to *this Miniſter*'s Fall, for having contributed ſo much to his Elevation? Let me aſk farther, *whom* We ſhall ſooneſt ſuſpect to have been actuated by Sentiments of *private Intereſt*; the *Perſon accuſed*, or his *Accuſer*? *Whoſe Circumſtances* moſt demanded, *whoſe Family* moſt required, an Increaſe of Wealth and Fortune; Thoſe of the *Accuſed*, or Thoſe of the *Accuſer*? Who hath given greater Proofs of *Avarice* to gather, and *Profuſion* to ſquander; the *Accuſed*, or the *Accuſer*? In *whom* have We ſeen ſtronger Evidences of that *vindictive Temper*, which prompts to *perſonal Spight* and *Reſentment*; in the *Accuſed*, or the *Accuſer*?——If we may form any Judgment of the *Gentleman accuſed*, there is not the leaſt Colour of Reaſon to ſuppoſe that his *Oppoſition* proceeds from a Spirit of *Ambition*, or a Deſign of puſhing himſelf into the *Adminiſtration*. He hath already poſſeſſed *two very conſiderable Employments* in the State; *one* of which He voluntarily laid down, as by his Conduct in *Parliament*, againſt ſome Meaſures of the *Court*, He forced the *Miniſters* to take the *other* away, having behaved with unſpotted Integrity in *both*; and if I am rightly informed of his Reſolution by Thoſe, who

ſeem to know him very well, it will hardly be ever in the Power of the greateſt Man in *England*, or of the beſt Friend he has in the World, to perſuade him to accept of a *Third*.——There is an Ambition, with which *theſe Spreaders of Calumny* and their *Maſters* are intirely unacquainted; the Ambition of *doing good*, and the receiving the Reward in *Fame*. He, who hath *this Ambition*, can never be diſappointed in the *other*; and if any Man, in our Age and Country, hath Reaſon to be ſatisfied with his Succeſs in the Purſuit of *this Ambition*, it is the *Gentleman*, of whom We ſpeak.

Whenever the *Defamation*, which hath been *diſplayed* againſt the *other Gentleman* is examined with the leaſt Knowledge of Facts, or the leaſt Impartiality of Judgment, it will appear equally falſe, and perhaps ſtill more ſcandalous; for, in *this Caſe*, the *Slanderers* take an ungenerous and mean Advantage, which They have not in the *other*; the Advantage, which his ſingular Situation gives them. They, who would have declined a Conteſt with Him, whilſt He was in a Condition to anſwer for Himſelf, have not bluſhed to declaim againſt Him in another Condition. They have experienced, in *his Caſe*, that the *unfortunate* are not *friendleſs*. They may live, perhaps, to experience, in *their own*, that the *guilty* are ſo.—Another Advantage, which *theſe Slanderers* take againſt *this Gentleman*, ariſes from the various Scenes of Life, through which He hath paſſed; ſome diſtant in Place; ſome ſecret in their Nature. Here Calumny hath more Room to aſſert, and Innocence leſs Opportunity to defend. Common Honeſty, in ſome Caſes, and even Decency, in others, ſhut the Mouth of the Man, who carries theſe Qualities about Him; and even more

in

in his *own Cauſe* than in That of *another Perſon*; but Calumny is ſubject to none of theſe Controuls; and We ſpeak on our own Knowledge, when We affirm, that, in the *preſent Caſe*, the falſe Imputations, which the *Accuſers* bring, are ſcreened from abſolute Detection by nothing but the Honour of the *Accuſed*.

Let us take Notice of ſome of the Crimes, (for Crimes, and heinous Crimes, They would be, if the Facts were, in any Degree, true) which are laid to the Charge of this *Gentleman*.

His *Ingratitude and Treachery* to the late Duke of *Marlborough* and the Earl of *Godolphin* ſtand firſt in the Roll. I believe no Man acknowledges more ſincerely than He the ſuperior Merit of theſe *two illuſtrious Men*, or wiſhes more ardently that They were now alive, and had the Conduct of the Affairs of *Great Britain*; but I know no *Obligation* of *Gratitude* or *Honour*, which He lay under to continue in their Adminiſtration, when the *Meaſures* of it were *altered*. They might have Reaſons, perhaps good Reaſons, for *altering their Meaſures*. He could have none in Point of *Honour*, whatever He might have had in Point of *Intereſt*, for complying with *that Alteration*. Some of the Enemies of *this Gentleman* came into the World on *ſuch a Foot*, that They might think it Preferment to be the *Creatures of any Men in Power*. He, who came into it upon *another Foot*, was the *Friend*, but not the *Creature* of theſe *great Men*, and He hath had the Satisfaction of proving Himſelf ſuch, on different Occaſions, and without Oſtentation, at leaſt to *one* of them, at a Time, when the *Creatures of great Men* uſually renounce them; at a Time, when They could do Him neither Good nor Hurt. That he came to Court,

on the Call of the * *late Queen*, in Oppoſition to *Them*, and exerted Himſelf in her Service, when They ſerved Her no longer, will not be objected to Him by any Man, who thinks more Allegiance due to the *Prince* than to the *Miniſter*. If the *preſent Miniſter* hath a Mind to avow a contrary Doctrine, He hath my Conſent; but then let Thoſe, who engage with Him, remember on what Terms they engage.——On the ſame falſe Principle is *another Accuſation* brought. *This Gentleman* had no Patron, or Patroneſs, but the *late Queen*. He neither *projected*, nor *procured the Diſgrace* of her *laſt Miniſter*, nor knew that it was reſolved, whatever He might ſuſpect, till He heard from Herſelf that it was ſo. Much more might be ſaid on this Article; but We chuſe to paſs it over for many Reaſons, and, among others, for This; that whilſt We defend the *living*, We are unwilling to ſay any Thing, which might be drawn by *theſe Slanderers* into an Inſult on the *dead*.

The laſt Charge of *Ingratitude*, brought againſt *this Gentleman*, is hard to be anſwered ſeriouſly. Thus much however ſhall be ſaid truly and ſeriouſly. He acknowledges, with the deepeſt Senſe of Gratitude poſſible, the Clemency and Goodneſs of his † *late Majeſty*; but ſure He hath Reaſon, if ever Man had Reaſon, to diſclaim all Obligation to the *Miniſter*. The Mercy of the *late King* was extended to Him unaſked and unearned. What followed many Years afterwards, in Part of his Majeſty's gracious Intentions, was due

* Queen *Anne*.

† King *George* I.

due ſolely to the *King*. That They were not fulfilled, was due ſolely to the *Miniſter*. His Ambition, his cauſeleſs Jealouſy, and private Intereſt, continued a ſort of *Proſcription*, with much Cruelty, to the *Perſon* concerned, and little Regard to the Declarations, which his *royal Maſter* had been pleaſed ſo frequently to make.

That *this Gentleman* was engaged in the Cauſe of the *Pretender*, is true. That He ſerved Him unfaithfully, is falſe. He never entered into *theſe Engagements*, or *any Commerce with Him*, till He had been *attainted*, and cut off from the Body of his Majeſty's Subjects. He never had *any Commerce*, either direct or indirect, which was inconſiſtent with *theſe Engagements*, whilſt He continued in them; and ſince He was out of them, He hath had no *Commerce*, either direct or indirect, in Favour of *that Cauſe*. On ſuch an Occaſion as This it is decent, not arrogant, to challenge all Mankind. I do it therefore, in the Behalf of *this Gentleman*, to produce one ſingle Proof, in Contradiction of any one of theſe general Affirmations. For the Truth of ſome, I may appeal even to *Thoſe*, who have been in the Service of his *late*, and are in That of his *preſent Majeſty*; and particularly to a *noble Lord*, who by the Poſt He was in, when moſt of theſe Tranſactions paſſed, muſt have had the beſt Opportunities of knowing the Truth of Them, and by whoſe Teſtimony I am willing that the *Gentleman* I defend ſhould ſtand or fall; a Deciſion to which, I am ſure, He will Himſelf be ready to ſubmit his Life, and, what is more, his Honour.

I

I make you no Excuſe for the Length of my Letter. The Juſtice I have done, or endeavoured to do, to *Thoſe*, who have been vilely calumniated, and particularly on the Occaſion of *your Writings*, and of *mine*, will be a ſufficient Excuſe of itſelf.

I am, SIR, &c.

FINIS.

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THE

THE

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